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PETER KOVLER
IN KENNEDY THEY TRUST
ISSUES & CANDIDATES AT THE A.D.A.

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DRAFTEES OR ASSASSINS?

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THE FOREST & THE TREES

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WALTER F. MURPHY'S 'VICAR OF CHRIST'

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THE BASQUE PROBLEM

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Correspondence

Sick & suffering

Chippewa, Falls, Wisc.

To the Editors: I could hardly believe my eyes when I read the article, "Life In The Parks," by Mr. Thomas Powers, in your magazine [May 25]. Since subscribing to *Commonweal*, I have always appreciated your compassion and understanding especially toward those who are suffering in body, mind or soul. So, in total disbelief, I vehemently protest the use of the word, "nuts" in reference to those who are suffering mental or emotional disorders. His description of those who are suffering the ravages of chemical dependency also shows a lack of understanding and sympathy. Granted, the destruction of the parks is a sad situation, but it is nowhere near the tragedy of the destruction of countless numbers of people and their families. So, instead of ridiculing these sick people, Powers and *Commonweal* might take up the crusade to get help for chemically dependent people, mentally and emotionally disturbed people, and developmentally disabled people!

Thomas Powers and *Commonweal* owe a sincere apology to the millions of people, who are suffering in body, mind and soul, as well as their families. You should be ashamed of yourselves.

(REV.) TERRENCE M. SCHELBLE
Chaplain, St. Joseph's Hospital
Chippewa County Health Care
Institution, & The Northern Center
for the Developmentally Disabled

The author replies:

Of course Father Schelble and I are in substantial agreement. An important measure of the health of our society is its commitment—we all know it has the ability—to help those who are sick, poor and suffering. I suspect Father Schelble and I also agree that at the moment we are not doing a very good job. I'm not sure how things are in Chippewa Falls, but in New York, despite many private and governmental programs, certain large groups of the sick, the poor and the suffering are left to fend for themselves. There was a time, a decade or so ago, when we seemed to recognize our responsibility. That time has passed. It is easy, in New York, to forget the unfortunate because they don't live where the well, the rich and the happy live. Out of sight, out of mind. But there is one place where you can see, nakedly and compellingly, the true measure of our condition: in the parks.

There are many ways to write about problems of this sort. One is frankly exhortatory, to give the problem its proper name, take the citizen by his lapels, and tell him what it's his duty to do. This is a perfectly sound approach, and if it always worked the parks would be filled with nothing but happy people, because there has been plenty of exhortation in behalf of the unfortunate. It seems to me that the present time is one of hardened hearts. People have grown tired of constant reminders of their social duty, they are half inclined to blame the victims, they no longer quite believe that social programs actually work, in addition to costing a lot of money. So I decided upon a different approach. I tried to describe what I see in a manner which would invite spontaneous sympathy from the reader, and lead him to reach all those conclusions on his own which I had deliberately omitted. Hence the cool tone which Father Schelble interpreted as a hard heart on my own part.

THOMAS POWERS

Disco dissent

Brooklyn, N.Y.

To the Editors: I am glad to see *Commonweal* giving space to discussion of contemporary popular music ["Disco Decadents, Punk Poseurs," June 8]. I would, however, like to take issue with several of Gerry O'Sullivan's points as well as with the whole tenor of his article. First of all, disco music did not simply spring from the head of Van McCoy. It is the logical extension of the kind of soul music exemplified by the Motown sound that was enormously popular throughout the 1960s, music which, like disco, emphasized simple lyrics and simple rhythms. Similarly, discos themselves are merely revised versions of the discotheques that were quite fashionable in the early sixties, particularly after Chubby Checker's "The Twist" became a hit. Disco is too narrow a form to satisfy anyone with an intelligent interest in pop music, and the majority of disco records, like the majority of poems published in a given year, are mediocre, but a great deal of the outcry against the disco scene is simply resentment of people who are enjoying themselves.

Mr. O'Sullivan's discussion of "punk" rock is equally simplistic. I get the impression that the author got his ideas about CBGB's and punk from *People* magazine or the *New York Post*. Aside from the fact that if CBGB's is a "tiny cafe," then it is the largest tiny cafe in America, need I suggest that the arrogance of Mr. O'Sullivan's phrase, "an army of Bowery winos, junkies and lunatics," belies his own social concerns, and is hardly appropriate in a Catholic periodical? The three "new-wave" groups that the author does compliment, Blondie, Talking Heads and Television, all started out at CBGB's. Television was, in fact, the first group ever to play there. Mr. O'Sullivan comments that, "The electric guitar, once wielded like an axe by rebellious anti-establishment types, became domesticated by the cash register." I would answer that popular music has always been under the control of those who run the cash registers, in Cole Porter's time as well as in our own. The author offers Emerson, Lake and Palmer as an example of the "progressive" mentality in

(Continued on page 447)

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CARTER REENTERS THE ATMOSPHERE

AT THIS WRITING, Skylab has crashed but the President is still in orbit. When he does reenter our atmosphere we hope it is with due fireworks but no further fragmentation of his leadership.

Despite all the disappointments, it is hard not to wish President Carter well. First, the nation so badly needs effective leadership. The public seems caught in a whirlpool of anger, cynicism, apathy, each response leading to the next in a cycle that makes it more and more difficult to break loose and steer some constructive course in regard to the major economic problems of inflation, unemployment and energy. Second, Carter's virtues as a president are but a hair's breadth from his weaknesses. Take the flap over cancelling his original energy address. Presidential policy should not be ruled by media scheduling, and it was a healthy relief to contemplate the President simply saying, I'm not ready yet, you can just wait until something as important as this is pieced together solidly. But was the whole business another example of administration inepitude and indecisiveness? Or consider the series of conferences that then commenced at Camp David. In some ways Carter gained the nation's attention by an act of purposeful presidential silence far beyond what any number of speeches could have achieved. Was at last some genius for leadership showing itself? Or was all this conferring—so the suspicion grew as the Camp David interim stretched on—a substitute for tough decisions?

The Camp David conferences do give a certain clue to what the President needs. The energy problem is a *political* problem. It has its origins in the political decisions of the OPEC producer states and in the political will that, contrary to Western expectations and economic "laws," OPEC has exercised to make those decisions stick. Yes, there are purely technical and economic aspects to this crisis. We do appear to be exhausting oil reserves and running up against severe problems of cost and pollution no matter which way we turn. But every technical solution and economic analysis presents its uncertainties—and none can be translated into practice without political mobilization. The President's responsibility is not to serve as executive of a problem-solving task force that will select some "best" plan which will be self-propelling and self-operating once issued from the White House, but rather to serve as a *political* leader who will enunciate the basic values to which any technical program must conform and who will engage in a continuing effort of negotiation, explanation and mobilization à la Camp David.

The indecisiveness that has crippled this administration is not its wavering on this or that specific proposal—whether tax rebates, welfare reform, the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment policy, national health insurance, the original energy package—but a deeper indecisiveness about its fundamental values. Was it really going to insist on equity in bearing the burdens of combating inflation, on a steady movement toward greater equality and decent conditions for the poor, on accounta-

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bility of bureaucracies, whether government or corporate—or were these standards themselves up for grabs in the search for the "best" technical solutions? The administration has given no clear signals; yet without them, it cannot muster the political resources to implement any program, no matter how efficient on paper. Said corporate leader David J. Mahoney on returning from Camp David, "I told him that he has got to persuade the public that he has a clear, understandable plan and the staff to follow through on it. If he does, private industry will support it." And only if Carter persuades the public he has a clear, understandable set of political principles behind his energy program, will the nation support it.

Affirmative action

BAKKE TO WEBER TO—?

FUNNY THING ON THE WAY TO COURT

ON JUNE 27, five Supreme Court Justices found that Kaiser Aluminum's affirmative action plan "designed to eliminate conspicuous racial imbalances in [the company's] then almost exclusively white craft work forces" did not violate Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The decision confounded not only some predictions (see my article, "Death of Affirmative Action?" *Commonweal*, March 30, 1979) but also engendered some confusion in early news accounts. How can *Weber* be reconciled with last year's *Bakke* decision? What are *Weber*'s guidelines for both voluntarily adopted affirmative action programs and future court orders attempting to remedy discrimination?

Bakke cannot readily be reconciled with *Weber*; Justice Brennan's majority opinion (a) relegated *Bakke* to an inconclusive footnote and (b) was premised solely upon his sophisticated reading of Title VII (*Bakke*, it should be remembered, arose under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act). The *New York Times* comment that "Bakke . . . turned on the Court's analysis of the Equal Protection clause of the 14th Amendment" while *Weber* "did not involve the Constitution at all" is both misleading and irrelevant, for four of the pro-Bakke Justices did not mention the Fourteenth Amendment in that case at all. The critical difference between the two cases lay in the facts, first, that two pro-Bakke Justices, Stevens and Powell, did not participate in *Weber* and, second, a third pro-Bakke Justice, Stewart, silently switched his vote to provide the *Weber* majority.

Justice Brennan's majority opinion, perhaps discomfited by the force of Justice Rehnquist's dissent (though not, one hopes, by its mean-tempered tone), provided only fuzzy guidelines for judging the validity of other voluntary affirmative action plans and even fuzzier ones for determining how far federal courts could go in mandating such action. Kaiser's plan passed muster because it was (a) directed against "traditional patterns of racial segregation" in crafts occupations; (b) protective of white interests (contrary to the *Boston Globe*'s comment that Weber was "shut out," his promotion was only delayed); and (c) temporary, since the promotion plan was to terminate when the proportion of blacks in skilled occupations reached their proportion in the local population. The latter is important because Brennan explicitly disclaimed any intention to "maintain" racial balance once it had been "achieved" by the Kaiser plan.

Although Brennan did not address the question of just how far *a court* could go in remedying "past proven violations" of Title VII (an issue of some significance as I pointed out in these pages last March), he may have been humbled by Rehnquist's blistering dissent which, at times, seemed to be directed toward this—next—issue rather than the one at hand. Brennan stressed that Kaiser's "voluntary" compliance with the overall purpose of the Civil Rights Act should be encouraged. Thus, the nature and context of affirmative action will continue to be critical factors in future litigation. Employers should voluntarily and flexibly remedy past discrimination rather than take solace in Rehnquist's warning (and Brennan's reluctance to contest it) that courts and other federal agencies may have only limited power to compel such action.

ISIDORE SILVER

(Isidore Silver is Professor of Constitutional Law and History at John Jay College of Criminal Justice.)

Commonweal is currently operating on its summer schedule. The next issue will be dated August 31, after which the normal biweekly schedule will resume.

A.D.A. convention

IN KENNEDY THEY TRUST

LIBERALISM IN SEARCH OF A CANDIDATE

A DEBATE HAS started on the popularity of American liberalism. Columnist Garry Wills recently wrote that the reasons behind Teddy Kennedy's success in the polls may not be charism but, instead, a genuine rise in national liberal attitudes. A report from the Boston publication *Working Papers for a New Society* argues that liberalism is on the ascent. Public confidence in big business leadership plummeted in the last decade; the percentage of citizens believing that government should limit corporate profits increased from 25 percent in 1966 to 55 percent last year. Parallel statistics can be found in areas as different as school integration and sexual mores. In spite of the seemingly endless reports of its death, liberalism must still be considered one of the most important forces in American politics, particularly Democratic party politics.

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Hence the significance of the annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action, held in Washington in late June. To many of the nation's political leaders, to the national press and to the leadership of social activist groups, ADA reflects the thinking of the American liberal. For years the group has been perceived as top-heavy, strong on spokespersons, weak on constituents, but its views still carry considerable weight. Doubtless, it was for this reason that the White House sent to the convention domestic advisor Stuart Eizenstat, Action Administrator Sam Brown, Special Assistant to the President Ann Wexler, Humanities Endowment Chairman Joe Duffey and several additional "observers." Similarly, Jerry Brown sent one of his most effective liberal spokesmen, David Mixner, once a campaign staffer for Eugene McCarthy, a co-founder of the Vietnam Moratorium, manager of the re-election campaign of Tom Bradley and currently an anti-nuclear activist.

Although Eizenstat, Mixner and several others made cogent arguments for their principals, the 500 delegates (ADA has 55,000 members) were enamored with Ted Kennedy. From the first moments of the press luncheon preceeding the convention to adjournment on the final day, the delegates spoke, thought and dreamed a Kennedy candidacy. I had never seen so many well-educated liberals fervently believe in an American mahatma.

Joe Rauh, ADA founder, head of the organization for years and currently its vice-president, set the tone at the first day's press luncheon. To a group of relatively friendly reporters, he said that Democratic National Party Chairman John White, a close Carter associate and top political appointment, was "cheap and sleazy." He said that if Carter is the Democratic nominee people would have the choice of voting "for one Republican against another." He added, "Carter's policy is the same as Hayakawa's." For Rauh, Jerry Brown didn't seem to offer much more. "Jerry Brown isn't anything," he declared.

Rauh repeatedly drew an analogy between 1980 and 1968. For him Carter was this year's L.B.J., and Kennedy, he hoped, would be something approximating a McCarthy. Placing his palms together and turning his eyes to the sky, he told the gathering, "All I ask for in this world is a chance to vote liberal."

Of the approximately fifteen questions asked at the press luncheon, all but one concerned political candidates. However important Rauh's and the ADA's views on candidates once again one saw the narrowness of the daily press's interests. In the following days the delegates debated some of the interesting and critical questions of the day; and their decisions, even if publicly unreported, surely measured, as accurately as any thing else, the current mood of American liberals.

Energy matters naturally received a good bit of attention, and the most striking position taken by ADA was to vote 72-54 for nationalization of the oil companies. In the past ADA has advocated breaking up the companies as a way to end their monopoly. But this year the organization took the "radical" view. That ADA chose to push for nationalization, even in what one should note was a very poorly attended plenary session, must surely be seen as a crucial step in legitimizing a heretofore heretical idea. As expected the delegates voted for

"WELL, IF ADA SUPPORTS KENNEDY AND KENNEDY HAS PROMISED TO SUPPORT ME I'LL HAVE STRONG BACKING FROM THE LEFT"

THANK YOU! BUT HELP! HELP!

BY THE TIME this issue reaches you, we will have received over $10,000 in contributions from *Commonweal* readers. Over 100 readers have answered our appeal by enrolling as new Commonweal Associates. An even greater number have sent in single donations.

We are hugely encouraged by this initial response—and very grateful. We urge our other readers, however, to join with these generous supporters. We are still far from meeting the pressures of inflation. (The magazine has just been notified of an increase in the cost of the labeling and mailing operation.) And we desperately need the funds which, through promotion, can mean the growth that is essential to survival.

We ask you not to delay.

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James Schlesinger's resignation and made it known that oil decontrol would unfairly burden the poorest of Americans. But nationalization, as one delegate told me, "represents a new boldness. If the ADA is angry enough to consider the idea then it is certainly no longer a 'wild' notion."

ON FOREIGN POLICY the ADA seemed to like most of Carter's policies, heartily approving the Panama Canal Treaties, SALT II, the Middle East peace and the maintenance of economic sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Displeasure surfaced in their vote for a full economic boycott of El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras.

Perhaps one of the most interesting debates—or lack of debate—was on the rights of Palestinians. As much as any other organization, ADA reflects the American liberal's ambivalence towards political arrangements in that region. For instance, there were some reports that there was to be a call for an independent Palestinian state. But because the matter was considered to be too controversial, it was not brought up for a vote. In one of the working group conferences, there was a vote on whether to say that the ADA found the absence of other Arab countries from the peace talks "regrettable" or "deplorable." The "regrets" won, by a vote of 11-10 and thereby signaling some greater loyalty to Israel. Most interestingly, there was an almost complete division between older and younger ADA members, the older liberals clearly still partial to Israel, the younger ones displaying more sympathy for the Palestinians.

From a strategic point of view, ADA seemed eager to get greater participation from organized labor. Very aware of the liberal versus labor split during the Vietnam war era, Rauh, ADA President Patsy Mink and others tried to emphasize that the time was ripe for the New Deal coalition to come back together. Indeed, such important labor representatives as Keith Johnson, president of the International Union of Woodworkers, and William Winpisinger, president of the Machinists Union, played large parts in the convention. One of the keynote speakers was William Wynn, president of the largest AFL-CIO union, the newly formed United Food and Commercial Workers Union. Although not a stirring orator, Wynn expressed the beliefs of many of the delegates, that the American right "is fundamentally unchanged. It is still the instrument of the people-haters; of those who overvalue property and undervalue life. We are ready to give battle in our strongest and most effective position—that of solidarity."

ADA National Director Leon Shull agreed: "We are seeing the greatest liberal/labor unity and cooperation of the past decade. The ADA convention," he added, "will be the harbinger of the dominant political coalitions of the 1980s."

It should be noted that largely because of a relatively strong labor involvement, the ADA rejected a call for wage controls in addition to price controls.

In the end, though, what most provoked interest—as well as derision—was the ADA's 500-0 vote to back Teddy Kennedy. As delegate Tim Black, ADA board member and veteran Chicago activist, said, "If there was one surprise, it was the *complete* agreement that Carter should not be the President." But the daily media, even the liberal media, saw this as a ridiculous ADA mistake.

Writing in the *New York Times*, Tom Wicker reminded readers that in 1948 the ADA had made a similar judgment about Truman and had pushed for Eisenhower as Democratic party nominee. And in the *Washington Post*, David Broder wrote, "It is a safe bet that two years into a Kennedy presidency, many of the same liberals who are now trying to draft him would be on the stump, proclaiming that he had seduced and betrayed them. But they are their own seducers—and their own victims. Their talent for myth-making and self-delusion is stunning."

Whatever the potential problems, it is certain that ADA's stance has given the Kennedy candidacy more credibility. The ADA is the largest and probably the most influential group formally to endorse a Kennedy candidacy. Doubtless, that message has been heard at the White House, in Sacramento, in the office of the senior Senator from Massachusetts and at the dozens of incipient Kennedy campaign headquarters around the country.

PETER KOVLER

(A former aide to Senator Hubert Humphrey and Congressman Sydney Yates of Illinois, Peter Kovler reports regularly from Washington for Commonweal.)

Regional autonomy in Spain

THE BASQUE PROBLEM

ETA'S PURSUIT OF POLARIZATION

ONCE AGAIN the Spanish government and that country's political parties are engaged in the Herculean task of establishing a workable formula for the institution of regional autonomy. The problem has long eluded satisfactory solution and the present effort promises to be extremely arduous and difficult, especially in arriving at an acceptable compromise for the violence-torn Basque region. Developments at this writing suggest that some progress has been made but an end to the blood letting is nowhere in sight.

Regionalist sentiment has grown throughout much of the country. In the March 1st parliamentary elections and the municipal balloting of April 3rd, parties advocating regional self-rule scored unexpected gains significantly altering the country's political balance. Tensions over the issue of autonomy have reached such disturbing proportions in the Basque region that it is considered the most serious challenge confronting the government of Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez.

Debate over regional and cultural autonomy is deeply rooted in Spain's past. The country is a composite of diverse ethnic cultures and languages and through much of its history controversy has raged between those favoring a highly centralized

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national entity and those who have sought greater latitude for the regions. The configuration of the present problem, however, is primarily a legacy from the Franco regime. During the 40 years of authoritarian rule, expressions of local cultures, languages, or folklore were rigorously banned as were movements favoring regional self-rule. Because the Basques supported the Republican side in the civil war, they were singled out for harsh, vindictive treatment. Until the end of the Franco era the Basque country continued to be treated as if it were occupied territory. Understandably this has left many in the region with a deeply ingrained hostility and suspicion towards the government in Madrid.

For the new Spain, therefore, the dismantling of the centralized structure inherited from the Franco regime and the granting of home rule is viewed as a moral and political obligation. But a formula that meets the desires of the autonomists while safeguarding the cohesion of the national structure has thus far eluded the government and the political leaderships. The government maintains that to accede to the demands of the Basque Nationalist Party would require going beyond what is permitted by the Constitution. To fully grant them, it is also feared, might establish precedents that could have a deleterious effect on any future relationship between Madrid and the prospective regional governments. Nor does the experience of other Western European countries offer much encouragement. No democratic nation has thus far succeeded in fully accommodating the demands for devolution without doing violence to the unitary framework of the nation-state. With this in mind, Socialist leader Felipe Gonzalez, despite his sympathy for the regionalists, recently observed he expects the issue will still be around in the year 2000.

But the Basque region requires urgent and rapid solutions. An accumulation of missed opportunities, bad judgment and political opportunism has led to a widespread feeling of frustration in the Basque provinces. The situation has reached a point of advanced deterioration and the police seem incapable of preventing the frequent killings by the terrorist-separatist ETA.

The March elections resulted in lessened support for the political moderates and an impressive advance by the radical separatist Herri Batasuna (Popular Unity), a coalition constituted last year by small radical nationalist groups that includes the political front of ETA. It succeeded in electing three deputies to the lower house, a Senator and many town councilors. Popular support for ETA is on the increase.

Obviously these changes have compounded the difficulties of the moderate Basque Nationalist Party in arriving at a realistic understanding with Madrid. In the meantime, ETA relentlessly pursues its goal of polarization in the region through an endless cycle of killings. There is little prospect it will end soon.

Some Spaniards have become resigned to unchecked murders of policemen and military officers. The present level of violence, they believe, can be endured without politically destabilizing consequences. Others have become more pessimistic, concluding that the situation is now hopeless and that the violence will eventually lead to a military occupation of the Basque country, an action that would obviously have portentous consequences for Spain's future political stability.

A Basque labor leader recently tried to convince me that the situation was not totally without hope. Now that mayors and city councilors of their own choosing have been elected for the first time since the civil war and the Basque regional council can be expected to assume added responsibilities for various services in the near future, people will gradually come to feel less alienated and distrust of Madrid should lessen. Correspondingly, the extremist appeal can be expected eventually to diminish. I hope he is right.

BENJAMIN MARTIN

(Benjamin Martin, a previous contributor, is Director of the Spanish Labor Project of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.)

Of several minds: *Thomas Powers*

THE FOREST & THE TREES

MASS PRODUCTION, MASS MISERY, MASS MAN

A ROUGH-SAWN board is like a face in the dusk or a voice over the phone; it's vaguely familiar but won't quite identify itself. Recently my nephew and I went through a hundred hardwood boards looking for some ash with which to build a hay wagon and we had, I am embarrassed to admit, a hard time of it. I knew (or thought I knew) what was in the lot: ash, maple, cherry and yellow birch. Cherry turns a rich red a bit darker than the color of brick dust. That was no problem. Yellow birch has got a pinkish heart, but it's muted with a faint tone of grey. That wasn't much of a problem either. But the ash and the maple, in their rough state, simply refused to distinguish themselves.

So we decided to run some boards through the planer and let the grain of the wood announce itself. Ash has got a coarse open grain; the figure in the wood—the wavy lines left by cutting through the tree's annual growth rings—almost looks as if it has been etched in with countless tiny strokes with the point of a pin. Maple, cherry and yellow birch are all close-grained; they have got varying kinds of figure, depending on how the wood has been sawn, but the surface left by the planer knives is tight, uniform, solid, close. The planed boards are obviously different; they just do not look like each other at all. Once my nephew and I had planed some we discovered the problem: there were only

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two ash boards in the lot we'd been sorting through, and some basswood (which we mistook at first for pine) had crept in to confuse us.

It ought to be clear I don't really know very much about wood, but I'm learning. I once spent an hour with a friend, Alan Rozycki, walking around a great tall tree trying to decide if it were an ash or a butternut. The bark of some trees is distinctive; yellow birch bark, for example, is a dead giveaway—golden in color, almost papery. But the bark of ash and butternut look *somewhat* alike, especially in the case of big old trees. Their leaves are both spear-shaped, but butternut leaves grow in distinctive pairs, with a single leaf coming straight out at the end of the twig. But the tree Alan and I were trying to identify was so tall we couldn't really tell, even with binoculars, if the leaves grew in the butternut fashion or not. Our difficulties were compounded by the fact there *were* butternuts in that patch of forest, and we found a lot of nuts *right under* the tree in question. Finally, after a great deal of discussion, we decided the tree was a butternut, and marked it with white paint for cutting. It was an ash.

A forest can be a confusing place, once you begin to pay attention to the details. It is the details, in fact, which define the forest. There is no harsher criticism of a strategic thinker than to say he fails to see the forest for the trees, but it seems to me the real problem is just the other way round. Strategic thinkers are supposed to be far-sighted, conscious of broad trends and the big picture, willing to leave the details to subordinates of fussier temperament. But it's the details which make up the whole. I used to walk through a forest without ever seeing a single tree. It wasn't until I began looking for saw logs that I began to appreciate the fact there are trees and there are trees, just as there are with people. It's their differences—their uniqueness—which makes them precious. A forester might say that one particular patch of woods contains so-many thousand board feet of mixed hardwoods, a quantum jump in precision over the vague impression of "forest," but that still only touches the surface of what is really there.

Cherry is a beautiful wood, but not every cherry tree has beautiful boards in it. For a start, in Vermont at any rate, most of them grow in fence rows, which means they're likely to contain a lot of hardware, old barbed wire and fence staples which can wreck havoc on a saw blade at the mill. That possibility means the first five or six feet at the tree's base can't be used. Because trees in fence rows don't have to grow tall to reach the light you can't always get the eight-foot log which is the shortest most mills will handle. In addition, a cherry tree ought to be at least two feet in diameter because only the heartwood has the distinctive red color. The outer layer of sapwood, perhaps two or three inches thick, is white. If you want to make a nice piece of cherry furniture, and don't want to pay the astronomical prices of the dealers in fine woods, which may be two dollars a board foot or more, you have got to start by looking for a good tree, tall, straight and thick. But even then you don't know what you're getting.

The same day Alan and I marked the "butternut" for cutting—this was in the late summer of 1976—we found a gorgeous great cherry, a really magnificent tree, at least thirty inches through at the base and thirty feet straight up to the first branches. I had never seen a cherry tree of this quality before. Once I would have been sentimentally inclined to leave it in the forest to fulfill its destiny, but now I wanted the boards, and its destiny was to grow rotten at the heart until it finally fell over, useless for anything but firewood. As soon as it was cut it was clear we'd gotten it in time; it was sound all the way through. That was in the winter of 1977. The log rested in a pile at the mill until the following fall; the rough-sawn boards were beautiful. So far, so good. I stacked the boards in a barn that Christmas to let them season. The rule of thumb is that hardwood should be left to dry a minimum of one year for every inch in thickness. I waited eighteen months to be on the safe side, and a month ago I put the first boards through a planer.

They looked beautiful going in, without knots or soft, punky places, but as soon as they came out the far side I found short black flecks scattered down the length of the boards. If I'm not mistaken this is called "spalting," a chemical discoloration which is the first stage in the process of decay. The boards were sound enough, but they were flecked with little black streaks, invisible before. They can't be sanded out or stained away; they're just there. Some people like them. Some people like knotty pine. I don't like either. The perfect tree was flawed, but it took nearly three years to discover the fact. Wood, as you can see, is highly particular.

The hard thing, since the industrial revolution, has been to see the trees for the forest. When you make things one at a time you pay attention to the details. Quality and scarcity seem to go hand in hand. When we began to make more, we ceased to make as well. There are contemporary furniture-makers who are every bit the craftsmen of the 18th century; in fact, we live in one of the great ages of woodworking and furniture design. But the fine cabinet-makers of the day do not threaten Grand Rapids. Most Americans cannot tell the difference between hidden dovetails and mass-produced glue joints. They could learn quickly enough, with instruction, but no one is going to teach them. The public result is the vaguest of nostalgias for things as they were, combined with a deep incapacity to distinguish the genuine from the ersatz.

In a McDonald's restaurant not long ago I counted the things which were intended to look like something else: "woodgrain" formica table tops, plastic seats intended to look like golden oak, imitation brick on the walls, bench backs molded to look as if they were covered with leather, plastic "wagon wheels" hanging from the ceiling with electric lights in the form of kerosene lamps, plastic flowers, "pictures" (it would take too long to describe what the "pictures" actually were) framed in imitation barn siding, linoleum in the design of Spanish tiles. I think I may have forgotten a few. The place was a riot of eclectic frauds. About the only thing not intended to look like an ancestor was the cash register.

Of course the industrial revolution did not do its work all at once. Production

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lines have a built-in cheapening tendency, but it requires time to take hold. Each generation of manufactured products imitates the quality of its predecessor. Vinyl car seats have stamped "stitching" to remind us of the threads which once seamed leather. Plastic car radio knobs are "silvered" to remind us of the chromed knobs of the past. Wooden furniture is "distressed" with flecks of black paint to suggest the wormholes and abrasions of age and use. The eye of the beholder is coarsened in time; it's hard to know which comes first, the moment people cease to notice, or when they cease to care. The process goes hand in hand with inflation, since the easiest way to hide a rise in price is to lower quality. With one thing and another we have come a long way since the invention of the steam engine and the spinning jenny.

One of John Cheever's early books was called *Some People, Places and Things Which are Not Going to Appear in My Next Novel*. There he vented his spleen on the century. It was not war, racism and poverty, etc. etc., which he attacked; those were subjects of size and seriousness which *would* appear in his next novel; but rather the cheap glut of the supermarket. Cheever knew it was no use getting worked up over this; nothing can be done about it, and it doesn't really matter. So what if the car radio knobs are only silvered plastic? They still turn the radio on. There aren't sheep enough in the world to let everyone wear wool, and there isn't cotton fiber enough to print newspapers on rag paper, and plywood is quite extraordinarily strong, and linoleum goes in quicker and cheaper than tile, and the alternative to masonite paneling is not oiled walnut, but plaster board. But there was something in Cheever, as there is in most of the rest of us, which rebels against the quick, the cheap, the easy and the ersatz. Something which longs for things done right, for knowing the difference, for the particular.

But it's too late. The gross effect is what the planners are after. When numbers go beyond a certain size, it is only averages which matter. Function begins to tyrannize over form. The tendency turns up in the darnedest places. In small unit infantry tactics, for example. The planners have armed everyone with automatic weapons, and soldiers are trained not so much to aim—"marksmanship" is an antiquated skill—but simply to fire their weapons. The goal is firepower, a blizzard of bullets in a general direction. The size of the undertaking requires attention to the gross effect. It is the same way with an automobile production line. Nothing shows less sign of loving attention to detail than a car. This is not a moral failing of carmakers, but a question of economics. Carmakers are not indifferent to quality; they have as much affection for the brass headlamps, spoked wheels and leather seats of a 1910 Mercedes as the rest of us. But if they're going to put a nation of 200 million people on the road, and change models every three years, and meet environmental requirements, and forgo Rhodesian chrome, and earn 10 percent on equity, and keep the price from going through the roof, then they've got to pay attention to the gross effect, which means radio knobs of silvered plastic. It means houses with carpet tacked down onto plywood subflooring, formica table tops, furniture stapled together, cigars with "non-tobacco ingredients," books with glue bindings, blazers with gilded plastic buttons. If we're all going to have a great deal—and society's appetite for things really does seem to be limitless—then there isn't time or material enough to pay attention to the details.

Ignoring the details gets to be a habit of mind, like any other. When things are pretty much alike, and serve their purpose well enough without being beautiful or admirable in their own right, they tend to disappear. The incidentals of life—tables, chairs, lamps, shoes, coffee cups—go unremarked, just like the faces in a crowd. The world is all crowds now. Occasionally a small group of people captures our attention, like the stone-age Tassaday discovered a few years ago in the Philippines, or the Pennslyvania Amish who forgot to take their polio shots, or the men sitting on death row in Southern prisons. The name of John Spinkelink we know. Very likely we knew enough about him not to mourn his passing, but its manner. But most of the people with a claim on the world's conscience are in crowds so dense it is all but impossible to remember they are made up of individuals as particular as the trees in a forest—crowds of unemployed in the central cities, crowds of refugees in Thai camps, crowds of the hungry in the Sahel, crowds in the slums of Brazil, crowds of dead left by the horrors of the century. Misery is mass-produced, and the alleviation of misery—when it can be alleviated at all—must be engineered in the mass as well. I think the sadness of the age must be that we have come too far to turn back, and know that health, justice and freedom, no less than the world's material goods, must be pursued with an eye to the gross effect.

THOMAS POWERS

Of several minds: *John Garvey*

DRAFT NO, ASSASSINS YES

HOW TO SAVE LOTS OF LIVES & LOADS OF MONEY

YOU HAVE HEARD, no doubt, that "the voluntary army isn't working" and that Congress is therefore considering registration—not for a draft, every advocate of this plan hastens to say, but *just in case*; and if the draft is reimposed, according to some proponents of registration, this time you could have a choice between military service and a civilian alternative, like Vista or the Peace Corps. Since registration of a sort forms the beginning of St. Luke's gospel, we shouldn't be ungrateful; if Mary and Joseph hadn't been forced to go to Jerusalem, think of all the blown prophecies! It takes a fundamentalist to

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like the idea of registration.

The liberal defense of this idea is that we need registration because so many of the people who have volunteered for the armed forces have been poor and black and "under-educated" (whatever that means in these slack days I don't know) and therefore, in one of those "therefore" leaps for which modern liberalism is celebrated, we should have involuntary servitude. This is the ticklish part of advocating a draft, and, by a logical extension, of advocating registration. It does involve something which goes against the American grain and is forbidden by the Constitution. Fundamentalism with regard to the Constitution is as silly as any other form of fundamentalism, granted. The ACLU is fundamentalist about press freedom and superfundamentalist about church schools, but switches to the higher criticism when gun control enters, with its own strict claims to the letter of the law, from the right. Conservatives are selectively picky in the other direction.

But there isn't any ambiguity about the fact that the draft does mean involuntary servitude. A lot of people came to America, land of free people, to avoid conscription. It can certainly be argued that a society cannot afford the freedom which allows its citizens a choice in these matters, but the same argument can be applied to every single word of the Bill of Rights. Freedom of religion, freedom of the press, free assembly—all of these things involve risks, including the risk of failure. Democracy finally might not work, might lead to (buzz word) chaos. Chaos usually means a situation which Spiro Agnew and the Kaiser would have found offensive, something less than antlike, not competitive enough with those Chinese who all dress alike, work hard, and have no flies or prostitutes. The liberals who support the idea of registration do so partly because it offers the hope of a compromise they regard with affection: you could choose non-military service. Nice, better than the old draft, right?

I don't think so. The thing the draft and this proposal have in common is the assumption that the state owns us. Or to put it in the jargon of civics class, we are believed to "owe society" a couple of years in government employment. The absolute equation of the state with society is assumed in this argument. A contrary argument could be made for the position that what we owe to society is a resistance to the bad ideas of people in government; and government is every bit as much a limited special-interest group as the AMA. Its agencies certainly claim to represent us. So do insurance companies and the McDonald's chain, but they don't have the monopoly power to make their claim felt with penalties for refusing to comply.

An alliance of liberals and conservatives are pushing registration. They share a measure of Peace Corps idealism and the sensible understanding that an army which doesn't want to be there is in some ways a healthier idea than one which does; conscription is, one argument has it, less likely to lead to military adventuring. There is no arguing with the practicality of this idea.

But is private ownership of people the only bad kind? By what legal fiction does the state not own people, when it can force them, under law, to do something they would not do without being forced? I hope there is massive resistance to any suggestion that people should be drafted, for any military non-military use.

Resistance has already begun, and it is good to see the intelligent right (Students for a Libertarian Society) combine with the intelligent left (the War Resisters League and other seasoned anti-statists) to fight the idea that people are a kind of property, or have an obligation which can be turned to any use by such many-fingered people as our strangely selected representatives.

But people who consider this stance too radical have a complaint: what is the solution, if we are all exempted from *having* to serve, to our defense problems? We can't let people down, and it isn't good to be negative all the time. Unlike a lot of critics of the system, I have an alternative to suggest. It is simple, economical, and it will help us out of all of our problems with SALT, registration, the draft and the expense of keeping up an army.

Not since the middle ages has it been common for leaders to die in battle. The way of the modern nation-state is to get someone else out there to die, and if one death doesn't do it (as one death never does) millions will. The particular person or groups of persons in charge of the state stays alive. Thousands, millions, get mashed to prove the glory and strength of the safest one in the bunch, or to push his point across, or to defend other people against crazy leaders. We have debates over how many people are needed to provide conventional military cover, how many people will be needed to mop things up under the nuclear umbrella, how many under that shield will need to die to make sure that (pick one) Carter, Brezhnev, Begin, Sadat, whoever, will make it through. The assumption has been that these people matter, that they are important to our survival, despite the evidence that they may be the greatest threat to it. The idea that we really need our leaders is the unsubstantiated basis of the modern state. The ones who make the wars in the first place last through them. They shouldn't.

My proposal is this. We could save a lot of lives and loads of money if we did away with nuclear weapons and armies, and aimed instead at the people who make them necessary. Let's encourage each nation to go for crack assassination teams, small groups of skilled people who can get in there and clean out the people who start wars in the first place. Instead of spending millions on armaments aimed at whole cities and entire populations, give a decent salary to a person who will be aimed at just one other person or set of persons, and leave the rest of us out of it. It would cost much less to have a handful of serious professional murderers in charge of killing off the people who organize wars than it costs to maintain our cumbersome defense systems.

Can anyone seriously imagine any leader accepting the proposal that he might have to die because of his own bad ideas? Of course not! But until Amy and her parents are on the block, I am not willing to put my own children there or to be there myself, and I hope you won't be either.

JOHN GARVEY

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NOT ALL THE WORLD IS 'US' AND 'THEM'

Limits of the superpowers

RICHARD J. KRICKUS

PUNDITS, POLITICIANS and pollsters agree that the United States has suffered a series of setbacks in the past two years while the Soviet Union has enjoyed impressive gains. Syndicated columnists Evans and Novak claim that President Carter has adopted a "submissive policy of turning the other cheek every time Moscow fouls Uncle Sam." The Senate's Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Frank Church has accused the administration of "botching" the situation in the Middle East and, upon returning from a tour of five Asian countries, Maine's liberal Republican Senator, William Cohen, characterized the United States as a "crippled giant." Such unflattering characterizations are not limited to domestic pundits: pro-American commentators in the French press have labeled President Carter incompetent and the Prime Minister of Pakistan told an American television audience that Carter was not acting like a leader of a superpower.

The American "setbacks" and Soviet "gains" mentioned most frequently are: Washington's failure to act decisively in the face of Soviet and Cuban incursions in Angola and Ethiopia, the formation of pro-Soviet governments in South Yemen and Afghanistan, the Carter administration's ineptness in withdrawing recognition from Taiwan, and the hesitation and weakness it displayed in the Iranian crisis. To make matters worse, many defense experts claim that the Soviet Union already has, or soon will, surpass the United States in strategic nuclear capability. Henry Kissinger, in his much publicized interview in *The Economist* of London, warned that the Soviets are acquiring a first strike capability and this will produce grave geopolitical consequences. Critics of SALT II have predicted that once it becomes apparent to both sides that the Soviets enjoy a military advantage, the West will be vulnerable to political blackmail, and gradually but ineluctably the balance of power will shift in their favor.

The assertion that the United States has become a "crippled giant" deserves close scrutiny because people who cannot be neatly categorized as "hawks" or "doves" adhere to it. It will be employed this year to block passage of SALT II, and it will frame discussions of U.S. foreign and defense policy for the next several years if not longer.

To claim that events are going especially poorly for the United States and well for the USSR is to misrepresent the facts, or to adopt the "worst case scenario" in every instance. This is dangerous because history reveals that today's conventional wisdom may lead to the adoption of tomorrow's policy disasters. Those responsible for painting such a bleak picture employ three faulty assumptions: the United States has almost unlimited power to shape the international environment to its liking; most of world's upheavals in the 1970's are the work of ingenious Communist machinations orchestrated from the Kremlin; and the Soviet Union has few real problems to deter it in achieving its imperialistic ambitions.

"THE UNITED STATES cannot control events within other nations." Thus President Carter speaking at Georgia Tech. That truism, reiterated on many occasions since then, reflects America's healthy reappraisal of our capabilities in the wake of failure in Vietnam.

Early in 1979, however, many commmentators who had previously acknowledged U.S. limitations began to display a dramatic change of mind. Since then they have cited the Shah's demise, the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Teheran, the murder of the American Ambassador in Kabul, and the humiliation President Carter suffered in Mexico when President Portillo publicly scolded him, to support the claim that American prestige has plunged while that of the Soviet Union has soared. Moreover, they now allude to Soviet "gains"—in Africa, Afghanistan and South Yemen—that not many months ago they dismissed as temporary setbacks for the West or developments of little importance.

Henry Kissinger has become one of their leading prophets.

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He has attacked the administration in particular for not acting decisively in Iran. Careful not to accuse the Soviets of instigating the crisis, he tantalizes us with a parable that suggests otherwise: "But somebody who starts a rockslide nevertheless must be held responsible for the impact of stones that he himself did not throw." While linking the Shah's demise to internal forces, Kissinger simultaneously claims that Washington could have prevented the outcome and so reveals his true feelings: the superpowers (if they have the guts) can determine the rise and fall of the vast majority of governments in Africa and Asia.

Empirical evidence, however, suggests otherwise: presently, and for the rest of this century, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be grappling with social, economic and political problems that are by-products of modernization or reflect internal divisions that existed prior to the Bolshevik Revolution and the creation of the CIA. For the sake of simplicity, there are three kinds of crisis which all of these societies must come to grips with before they can enjoy the kind of social order the industrialized Western countries take for granted.

The Crisis of Participation: Urbanization, industrialization, technological innovation and the demise of Western colonialism have produced a new, heightened level of political awareness among the people of the Third World. Increasingly they are demanding a voice in decisions affecting their lives which was denied them by their former European masters. Because few of their governments are willing or able to make room for them, political change in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been abrupt, violent and unpredictable. Because few governments have institutionalized channels of political expression, while many do not enjoy the unity of purpose associated with a shared sense of common peoplehood, social order is achieved through coercion and not consensus. As long as most of the world's societies are grappling with the crisis of participation, political instability will be the rule and not the exception.

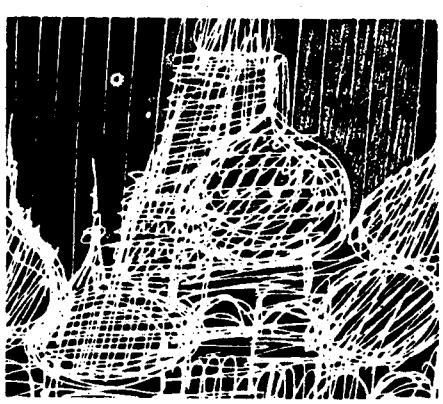
The Crisis of Distribution: Throughout history only a tiny proportion of people have experienced anything other than economic subsistence. But with the industrial revolution it became possible to eliminate poverty. The ruling groups of Europe and North America, however, responded to this challenge differently, fostering socialism, communism, fascism and welfare capitalism in the process. Today demands for more food and consumer goods, better housing and greater access to educational and other opportunities—enjoyed by most Westerners—constitute a dispute over how resources in the proper countries are to be distributed. The disparity between economic expectations and the ability to meet them is a persistent source of discontent, contributing to frequent turnovers in political authority.

The Crisis of Regulation: Throughout the world, traditional values and institutions are crumbling before the on-rush of urbanization, industrialization and the mass media, fostering rising rates of crime, juvenile delinquency and other forms of social pathology. Many leaders anxious to acquire prerogatives of power and status have taken measures to destroy "old customs and ideas" which they perceive as blocking the way toward progress. At the same time, fearful that time-honored customs and values are being destroyed by alien, "Western" ones, traditional leaders have become bitter opponents of modernization—as exemplified by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in Iran and the mullahs in Saudi Arabia. (Since most hard-liners in the United States claim to be conservatives, it is difficult to fathom why they have paid so little attention to the importance of traditional institutions and values in the lives of Asians and Africans.) Neither the exponents of rapid change nor the protectors of traditional ways, however, can guarantee social order based upon consensus because the forces of modernization have been let loose and in the foreseeable future discord and upheaval will pervade most developing societies.

Along with the unrest promulgated by modernization, the persistence of ethnic divisions will continue to shape the course of events in the non-industrial world. In Africa, for example, tribal differences are a much greater source of discord than ideological ones. Antagonists vying for political control often attach themselves to Western ideologies in an effort to secure economic and military support from the superpowers, but if one strips away the rhetoric the root causes of conflict derive from ages-old ethnic animosity. (Indeed, the war among the Communists in Southeast Asia is proof that most of the conflict in the world today is related not to ideological differences but to sources of discord rooted in ethnic and historical grievances.)

Many of the "setbacks" the United States has suffered in Sub-Sahara Africa, moreover, are unrelated to Soviet actions; they are linked to a perceived American association with Western colonialism. The Soviets do not have to bear this albatross and their support of black independence movements has convinced African leaders like the late Steve Biko that "America is a poor second to Russia when it comes to a choice of an ally." Hard-liners in the United States misconstrue such observations to mean that the men in the Kremlin have achieved profound ideological gains on the Dark Continent, but UN Ambassador Andrew Young's comment that Africa's blacks are not prepared to trade one form of white rule for another one will probably prove to be prophetic.

In this connection, writers who see the Soviets as making strides toward the achievement of a grand design in Africa are



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at a loss to explain the anomaly that Cuban troops have been guarding American-run oil complexes in Angola. Isn't one of the Soviets' objectives to deny the West precious raw materials? The simple truth is that national interest takes precedence over ideological purity; even if the Angolan leaders prove to be authentic Marxists, they will sell their oil to any nation (except South Africa and Israel) that is prepared to buy it, and much the same holds true for "Marxist-Leninist" regimes elsewhere.

TO CLAIM that the USSR is making great gains internationally at the expense of the United States is to ignore problems severely limiting the Soviets' capacity to operate effectively abroad. Let us briefly cite two which are far more serious than any problems facing the United States: the "nationality question" and discord in the "Communist world."

Contrary to Leonid Breshnev's claim that the Soviet Union has forged a pluralistic society out of the ethnic mosaic of Old Russia, the nationality question—a source of grave concern to the Czars of yesteryear—is currently one of the Russian leadership's greatest worries. Although the Western media have dwelt upon intellectual dissidents, the discontent displayed by non-Russian ethnics in the Soviet Union constitutes a much more serious problem. The 1980 census will reveal that they comprise more than 50 percent of the population in the USSR, and the Lithuanian, Ukranian, Armenian and various Asiatic ethnic groups that reside in the Soviet Union are displaying a new sense of group self-awareness. The Russians claim the ethnic civil rights activists are reactionaries financed by "foreign provocateurs" but the truth is that most of them are socialists; their activities are supported by people from all walks of life and their movements are growing in strength. Significantly, young men and women born in the Soviet era are among the most militant activists.

There are two forces at work here. The first has its roots in Russian chauvinism. Russians currently dominate all important centers of power and influence—the economic sector, the armed forces, the Communist party, the government, cultural life, etc. The deciding factor in moving up the ladder in the Soviet Union often is one's nationality, not one's ideological purity or abilities. Non-Russians encounter persistent acts of discrimination, and they contend that the USSR today is a "prison of nations" just as Lenin characterized Czarist Russia early in this century.

The second element at work is that modernization is not undermining ethnic ties and values but, on the contrary, is the basis for the "new ethnicity" in the USSR. This anomaly clashes with Soviet and Western social thought which contends that in a "socialist" or "modern" society ethnic values and ties will be superceded by new, "higher forms" of social relationships. Russian chauvinism is probably less prominent in the Soviet Union today than it was in Imperial Russia. But, as minority groups gain access to educational and professional opportunities, the younger generation will not tolerate acts of discrimination that the older ones did; indeed their rising levels of expectation induce them to rebel against acts of discrimination that their parents deemed minor. This phenomenon inspired the civil rights movement in the United States; it will foster race war in South Africa in the 1980's, and it will be the basis for serious internal discord in the Soviet Union for many years.

The non-Russian ethnics are demanding greater political autonomy, more money for local economic development projects, and wider opportunities to celebrate their cultural life. To demonstrate just how serious rising ethnic self-awareness is, we need only consider the plight of the Islamic people, who are among the Soviet Union's poorest citizens. Out of a population of about 270 million, 50 million Soviets are of that faith; the USSR is the fifth largest Islamic country in the world. Unlike the European ethnics in the Soviet Union, they have only recently begun to enter the mainstream of Soviet society, but as this trend gains momentum their level of political awareness and their desire to have a voice in economic, political and cultural affairs will escalate. This is likely to foster confrontations with the Russians. For example, the Kremlin may encounter stiff resistance in Islamic areas, to its policy of hand-picking religious leaders, of controlling educational curricula, or of determining the expression of cultural activities—just as it has in the Baltic countries, the Ukraine, Armenia, and Georgia.

The revival of religious fervor on the part of Moslems is a tangible social phenomenon in many Islamic countries. If the Russians, true to form, oppress Moslem activities in the USSR, they will run the risk of alienating millions of their closest neighbors as well as those Moslems who live in parts of Asia and Africa distant from the Soviet Union.

The non-Russian nationalists cannot bring down the Soviet state—there is no indication that they are trying to do so—but it is equally short-sighted not to acknowledge that the Russians are faced with a serious and growing problem in their own society. Nuclear weapons will not solve the problem and although the application of conventional force may, for a time, intimidate ethnic activists, the nationality problem is a persistent, long-term one that must be considered in any assessment of Soviet capabilities.

Many hard-liners, however, perceive the Soviets' internal problems in a different light. Kissinger, for example, argues that the Soviets may seek political advantages—risking a dangerous confrontation with the United States—before its latent "political and economic instabilities" become manifest. Only time will tell whether he is right or not, but on the basis of past Soviet behavior the evidence is by no means clear that there is a correlation between internal discord and aggressive behavior abroad. Conditions in the Soviet Union, however, allow us to assert with confidence that its "political and instabilities" are permanent factors limiting its ability to achieve foreign policy objectives.

A SECOND AREA of major difficulties for the Soviets is the discord characterizing relations among the various countries that comprise the "Communist world." The most serious Soviet setbacks since the end of World War II have been

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associated with fraternal "socialist" countries, and in no instance has the United States instigated them. Consider for example:

—the break with Tito in 1948;
—the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian revolutions in 1956 and 1968;
—less dramatic outbreaks in Poland and East Germany and other displays of anti-Soviet feeling among the Warsaw Pact countries;
—the Sino-Soviet split which many commentators fear will result in a major Russian-Chinese war.

All of the above have significant implications for the ability of the Soviet Union to achieve its foreign policy objectives. The Soviets clearly cannot place much faith in the loyalty of allies who in several circumstances have turned their weapons on Russian troops. This uncertainty is clearly worth many divisions, yet defense experts citing the superiority of the Warsaw Pact over NATO often do not mention it. But there is no question that Soviet distrust of the East Europeans serves as a limiting factor to the Soviets fully utilizing their economic, political and military leverage in Europe and, under certain conditions, elsewhere as well.

Turning to Sino-Soviet enmity, even if a change in leadership should result in Russian-Chinese detente, it is unlikely that the two Communist superpowers will ever manage to work effectively together as a single power center. It is more likely that one will look upon the other with fear and suspicion, causing both to maintain troops along a mutual border forty-five hundred miles long.

There is no cause to be Pollyannaish about the international and national security problems confronting the United States: we live in a dangerous, often-times unpredictable world; we must maintain military parity with the Soviets; and we may have to take risks and make sacrifices to protect ourselves and to achieve our international objectives. But it is a gross error to devalue or exaggerate American or Soviet power. Our foreign policy and defense posture must be designed on the basis of the fact that, even if leaders in Washington and Moscow wished to do so, neither can return to a by-gone era when they could shape events to their liking if they were prepared to risk a serious confrontation.

Both still possess enormous capacity to wreak havoc in the world, but neither has the means to control the fate of the vast majority of people who live outside their borders. The miscalculation that they can do so may bring about the confrontation both wish to avoid.

MAKING ROOM FOR PUBLICANS IN CHURCH

Liturgical silence

J. PATRICK DOBEL

And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me, a sinner. (Luke 18:13)

THERE IS very little room for the quiet prayers of the publican in today's Catholic liturgy. Congregational song and the recitative vernacular place an almost constant burden upon the worshipper to speak, sing, gesture and "actively participate." I recall the story of a friend who recounted how the few moments during communion time were a very important moment in his life. He would silently reflect upon his life and God or open himself to the sacramental presence. In his church, as in most churches, the place which suggested "optional silence" or "communion song" had been filled with the militantly joyful singing of community hymns. One day early in the new liturgy he was nudged by his wife asking him to "sing along" because his obvious silence and intensity were setting a bad example for the children who wanted to know why "dad doesn't sing."

The pressures to end moments of silence and reflection are profoundly misguided. Silence and reflection are significant parts of human and religious life. They are of special importance for deepening faith and conviction, and a liturgy without them becomes shallow and manipulative.

I

MUCH OF of the problem can be traced to ambiguities about the role of silence and reflection in the *Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy*. Reacting negatively to the familiar sight of rows of bowed or nodding heads, and vacant stares of the congregation as choirs sang and the priests mumbled incomprehensible words, the dominant image of silence in the *Constitution* is that of mindless passivity. Article 48 suggests this quite clearly: "Christ's followers, when present at this mystery of faith, should not be there as *strangers* or *silent spectators* (emphasis mine). This equation of silence with being estranged or passive was reinforced by the rediscovery of the

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intensely public and communal nature of most Christian celebrations and sacraments. Thus article 27 states, "The presence and active participation of the people, this way of celebrating is to be preferred, as far as possible, to a celebration that is individual and quasi-private." The image of silence as deadening and the reemphasis upon the social nature of the sacraments led to a clear statement of priorities in Article 30, "To promote active participation, the people should be encouraged . . . to take part by means of acclamations, responses, psalmody, antiphons, and hymns, as well as by actions, gestures and body attitudes." Then as a separate afterthought, "And at the proper times all should observe a reverent silence."

Despite this emphasis, there are ample grounds in the *Constitution* for encouraging "liturgical silence"—a time during the liturgy for free acts of the mind and consciousness, a time when one can freely reflect, recollect, hear, meditate, or open oneself to God's presence and be under no compulsion to sing, speak or gesture. The freedom from compulsion or emotional intrusion is absolutely crucial.

II

LITURGICAL silence serves three broad functions. First, silence is integral to learning; it is the milieu of hearing and recollection and of the reflective emergence and deepening of personal conviction. Second, silence is an opening to God's presence and part of sacramental worship. Third, silence is appropriate for some basic worship-full responses we make to God's presence. For there is a "time to keep silence, and a time to speak." (Eccl.3:7)

Christian faith, wrote Thomas Aquinas, " is directed to the true." To worship the truth, we must first hear and learn the Word of a God "who cannot deceive." The importance of a fully conscious "hearing" gives silence its primary liturgical role: "there was silence, then I heard a voice" (Job 4:16). In *Maxims and Counsels*, St. John of the Cross puts it this way, "The Father spoke one Word, which was His Son, and this Word He always speaks in eternal silence, and in silence must it be heard by the world."

The problem of gaining enough silence for God's word is always there. Isaiah's angry plaint, "listen to me in silence," was normal for the prophets. Paul waited until "all the assembly kept silence," before he would preach.

The central importance of God's truth through the word is underlined by the new liturgical importance of scripture, homily and vernacular. Faith is not simply an emotional response to an interpretive reading of the Gospel or a finely wrought sermon. Faith, deep and abiding faith, involves an act of the will turning to God and an act of the intellect assenting to God's truth (*Summa Theologica*, II,II, Q.4 A.1). The real completion of hearing the Word is learning the Word and affirming it as a determinative part of one's existence. This absorbing of the word into one's being requires silence and deep reflection to complete the act of hearing.

The speaking and noise of others and even oneself, however, often interfere with the reflective activity of the mind.

It is easier to create a visceral orthodoxy through emotional and behavioral manipulation than to give free range to the mysteries of silence.

The exasperated phrase, "I can't hear myself think," sums up the dangers of not having what Bonhoeffer, in *Life Together*, calls the "wonderful power of clarification, purification and concentration upon the essential in being quiet."

In silence also lie the sources of freedom, intention and ethical autonomy, and silent reflection upon God's presence and Word leads to profound transformations in our ethical life. "Faith is . . . the conviction of things not seen" (Heb. 11:1). The creation of real convictions involves a transformation of will and intellect, not just emotional responses to a "call." It entails an enduring emotional commitment which is fortified by reflection and reason. These are the convictions capable of daily life in a predominantly pagan culture. True convictions enable the individual Christian to live in a world "of foes," and to practice justice and bear witness without noise, posturing and incessant emotional recharging for "in quietness and in trust shall be your strength" (Is. 30:15).

The relation between freedom and silence is well acknowledged in social control strategies. A few years ago a television program depicted an anti-utopia where the society was forced underground and every place except the rulers' living quarters had piped-in music. The music was finely modulated to maximize the efficiency of the function the people were supposed to be performing, be it sleep, work, wake-up, or patriotic activities. 'Muzak' at shops and piped-in music at offices and factories are designed by industrial psychologists to short-circuit thought and influence behavior in certain patterns. Any social organization which seeks control over life fills life with song, dance, constant community activity and group discussion. Solitary time to quietly and calmly reflect is too dangerous to continued adherence to community norms. It is easier to create a visceral orthodoxy through emotional and behavioral manipulation than to give free range to the mysteries of silence.

Not only do we comprehend and resolve, but we also worship in silence. The meeting place between a human being and God is a very quiet place. Personal communion is ultimately not mediated or controlled by the community but is an ineluctably free personal encounter more intimate than any available to mortals. We must "be still before the Lord and wait patiently for him" (Ps. 37:7).

In "waiting upon" the Lord, our silence is not soporific but complete and full. The fruition of participation in the Word and sacramental symbol is a rich awareness of God's grace and

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PAX CHRISTI CAMPAIGN: HELP STOP NEW WEAPONS

PAX CHRISTI USA supports a proposal to amend the SALT II Protocol to call for an end to all research, development, testing, manufacture and deployment of any new nuclear weapon that is not yet fully deployed.

Such an amendment would give hope to those who see in SALT II hardly more than a legitimation of a policy based on mutually assured destruction.

The commonly accepted position that the U.S. weapons stockpile makes it technically possible to kill every human being in the Soviet Union many times over, and to make an "instant Auschwitz" of each of the larger Soviet cities, is one from which we dissociate ourselves totally. We cannot support the possession of weaponry that would tell our Russian brothers and sisters that this is what we have in mind for them should deterrence fail and give way to mutually assured destruction. Even if the United States suffered a massive first strike nuclear attack, our nuclear response could still wipe out millions of people. As Christians we dissociate ourselves from a useless and loveless vengeance that denies the message of love and forgiveness brought to us by Jesus.

President Carter said to the Joint Session of Congress following the signing of the SALT II Agreement: "The truth of the nuclear age is that the United States and the Soviet Union must live in peace or we may not live at all . . . In an age of the hydrogen bomb there is no longer any distinction between global war and global suicide." We want no part in preparation for either. In SALT II in its present form we see only the management of nuclear arms, not their limitation and eventual elimination as instruments of foreign policy.

We trust that other groups concerned with peace as well as individuals will join with Pax Christi in urging a crucial and realistic amendment to the SALT II Protocol. The absolute break in the planning and production of new weaponry would begin a reversal of the arms race and could be a step toward true disarmament.

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PAX CHRISTI, the International Catholic Movement for Peace, has as its primary objective to work with all people for peace for all humankind, always witnessing to the peace of Christ..

PAX CHRISTI USA has as its priorities *Disarmament, A Just World Order, The Primacy of Conscience, Education for Peace,* and *Alternatives to Violence*. Programs to implement these priorities include a newsletter, development of educational programs and materials, an annual national assembly, representation at the United Nations, and participation in the programs of Pax Christi International.

Pax Christi membership is open to all who wish to share its purpose and services. There are no membership dues, but the organization depends on its members for financial support.

☐ I authorize my name in support of the Pax Christi Campaign to Help Stop New Weapons.

☐ I wish to join Pax Christi.

☐ Enclosed is $____to support Pax Christi's peace education work.

☐ Please send me____copies of this petition so that I can promote the campaign.

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"Make gestures of peace, even audacious ones, to break free from vicious circles and from the deadweight of passion inherited from history. . . . Create—the hour is ripe and time presses—ever wider areas of disarmament."

Pope John Paul II, Message for World Day of Peace, 1979.

What Salt II Does Not Do

President Carter underlined the reality of what SALT II does not do when he told Congress that a policy based on nuclear weapons erases the distinction between global war and global suicide. SALT II does not answer to the need to change our weapons policy. It does not touch the nuclear stockpiles of the two superpowers, estimated at the explosive power of more than a half million Hiroshima bombs. Negotiations must, and can, produce better results.

In its present form, the SALT II Protocol limits the utilization of certain new weapons for a period of two to three years. The fact is that most of these weapons would not be ready for use within that period. Thus the limitation is all but meaningless. The proposal we favor would amend the Protocol to require an end to all research, development, testing, manufacture and deployment of any new weapon that is not yet fully deployed.

This amendment would give hope to those who see in SALT II hardly more than a legitimation of a policy based on mutually assured destruction. It would insure that SALT II actually limits arms, rather than merely managing them.

Pax Christi USA and SALT II

Pax Christi USA was one of the organizations invited to Washington in October, 1978, to participate in a SALT II conference for religious leaders. A spokesman for the State Department reminded the group that the basis for peace in our day is the possibility of mutually assured destruction, MAD for short. Quoting Shakespeare he stated that "much madness is divinely sent." SALT II he maintained, should be supported as a step forward in the relations between the world's two mightiest powers.

Pax Christi's Executive Council decided that this particular madness was not divinely sent and voted not to join the Religious Committee for the Ratification of SALT II.

By this vote, PAX CHRISTI chose a different path from eighteen religious groups. Pax Christi intended no criticism of these groups who saw SALT II and successive SALT treaties as part of a process leading to an acceptable end. In supporting an amendment, we do not want to see the negotiating process crippled. We look rather to continuing dialogue to produce a treaty that would actually limit nuclear arms now.

The position taken by Pax Christi was erroneously reported as being in opposition to ratification of SALT II. This would have placed the organization side by side with groups who do oppose ratification, and on vastly different grounds, chiefly the need to maintain arms superiority over the Soviets.

Pax Christi's Executive Council did not join other religious groups urging ratification on the grounds that the terms of the discussion were not moral terms with which Pax Christi could identify. The mass murder and apocalyptic destruction made possible by the present U.S. stockpile of nuclear warheads, more than a half million times the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb, have no warrant in the gospel of Jesus. A specific ban on such weaponry was pronounced by the bishops of the world at the Second Vatican Council in the words:

> Any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or of extensive areas along with their populations is a crime against God and man himself. It merits unequivocal and unhesitating condemnation.

By first use of such weaponry, hundreds of thousands of human beings, chiefly non-combatants, were cremated alive in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This mass killing was later described by Pope Paul VI as "a butchery of untold magnitude." An amendment to SALT II should, at the very least, make impossible the development of any new weaponry that could repeat and magnify that butchery.

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presence which are almost always associated with "peace." We hear, listen and meet God in the openness of our life in silence. In our awareness of his presence, there is a wide range of emotional responses we might express, many of which are experienced most appropriately in silence.

One central response, often ignored in the new liturgy, is the wrenching moment of awe when we are left with "unspeakable words" (2 Cor. 12:4) before the majesty of the Lord. Here we must adore and "be silent, all flesh, before the Lord; for he has roused himself from his holy dwelling" (Zech. 3:13). At the other end of the spectrum, silence is the natural state of many of our most intimate moments. To be in another's presence and enjoy his or her company without the need to resort to words is a moment of profound joy and intimacy. In silence we bask in God's love and acceptance and return our own unfettered by language.

Awe-full worship and intimacy are emotional responses to God's presence for which silence is often the most appropriate mode of experience, but there are others. Raw fear only too easily leads us to hide behind silence (Job 31:32) and take Amos's advice, "therefore he who is prudent will keep silent in such a time, for it is an evil thing." Great shame and sorrow also lead to silence. "Hang your head in shame" is a response to those moments when we fail to live up to God's expectations and like the rebuked slave traders we "were silent, and could not find a word to say" (Nem. 5:8). Finally in our deepest and darkest moments of honesty, we confront our sorrow and learn of it in silence. After Jerusalem had been sacked "the elders of the daughters of Zion sit on the ground in silence" (Lam. 2:10).

The other side of fear, shame and sorrow before God is the process of healing. The parent who holds a crying hurt child slowly assures them of safety and brings them peace and quiet. Doctors know only too well that the body and soul often heal best in prescribing rest and silence. Peace and silence are times for renewing our acquaintance with God and ourselves as well as regaining the strength and solace often denied us amid the noise and demands of life.

There is no need to abolish the new modes of external participation. My point is that we need a liturgy in which *all* the appropriate responses to God are possible. It is important in the flush of rediscovering the social aspect of the Mass not to forget that Christ is present at Mass in several other ways. He is there in his assembly but also in his Word, in his minister and "finally and above all, in the eucharistic sacrament" (*The Rites*, Pueblo Publishing, 1976, p. 456). We need to reintegrate silence and reflection into the rites to allow for the completion of our conscious hearing of the Word and to respect the autonomous power of the sacrament and the ineluctable moments of unity with God's real presence. When God chooses to make his presence available to individuals through the uniquely personal act of eating and digesting food, we must respect the integrity of the symbolism and the unique individuality of each person's meeting the Lord. The liturgy should provide space to amplify and enrich those moments.

Too much silence, however, would be as inappropriate as a service with no room for silence. The Psalms constantly demand "joyful noise," and communal celebrations should "let the word of Christ dwell in you richly . . . sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs with thankfulness in your hearts" (Col. 3:15). Devastating types of silence must be avoided. When God's voice is silent and his presence denied us, silence brings despair. Hebrew made one of the forms of silence a synonym for death and descent into the underworld. This very silence is banished by the Mass and sacraments.

III

BUT THE present liturgy undervalues the role of silence and reflection and encourages maximal forms of "external participation." It further denigrates the role of silence with its increasing exclusion of the classical repertoire of music and song which provided an opportunity for individuals to pray, reflect, experience and absorb God's presence and Word. I believe this evolution of the liturgy violates the spirit of the liturgical reforms. While filling some institutional needs, it poses significant dangers to the nature of the faith.

The liturgical constitution had emphasized the importance of becoming fully conscious of the sacrament, the Word and the community. It had encouraged adequate preparation and comprehension on the part of the faithful and many of its reforms tried to accomplish this. By denying opportunities for silence and reflection, the whole liturgy shortcircuits the reflective process and denies individuals the "rich" and "fully aware" participation which the mind and openness permit. Rote recitation is the same whether in Latin or English; it can become boring and routine unless it takes place in the context of invited reflection and comprehension of the meaning of the words. Without abetting this aspect, the great initial advantages of turning to the vernacular will be easily lost.

In response to these disadvantages, more emphasis is being placed on interpretive reading, drama, better rhetoric in preaching, militantly participatory congregational song and forging moments of emotional immediacy among the congregation. These attempts to create a community upon emotional foundations of sand often produce their own backlash. Perhaps we should remember "better is a handful of quietness than two hands full of toil and a striving after wind" (Eccl. 4:6).

This evolution partially results from the unreflective and intolerant enforcement of the "new orthodoxy" by church bureaucrats and overzealous reformers; but far more importantly it stems from the church's institutional need for some form of social control and consensus. With its own authority crumbling and its symbolic and dogmatic panoply in considerable disarray, the older definitions of community no longer work. This is aggravated by the decline of the Catholic educational system and the failure to replace Catholic schools with any workable or effective form of religious education for children. With no coherent set of beliefs, symbols or authority for members to identify with and no institutional socialization, the church has concentrated upon creating a form of visceral

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orthodoxy. The institution can manipulate the emotions of people and create the illusion of a community based upon common good feelings and if everyone at least feels the same, the harder questions of dogma and discipline can be ignored. The concentration upon communal singing and moments like the kiss of peace make it very easy to confuse glandular unity with true community. Mass approaches a weekly feel-good fix away from the world. People return for their weekly doses of good feelings, which soon dissipate in a secular world.

To concentrate upon the "glow of fellowship" from human immediacy ignores Bonhoeffer's warnings that " Christian brotherhood is a spiritual and not a psychic reality," and that "we are bound together by faith, not by experience." The community which relies upon emotional immediacy for its unity mistakes "togetherness" for a community *mediated* by God's presence and love.

In commenting upon the hours one must spend in a secular world, Bonhoeffer asks a question of Christian liturgies and communities, "Has fellowship served to make the individual free, strong and mature, or has it made him weak and dependent?" Ultimately liturgies and communities which ignore reflection and intellect do not engender true Christian individuals capable of bearing witness in the world. On the one hand, individuals leave their Sunday well of good feeling, and with no rational or ethical demands upon them they easily make their accommodations with the world. On the other hand, unable to sustain individuals in the world, the community swallows them and generates public posturing and assertive prayer groups; it controls one's private life with peer pressure and a constant agenda of community narcissism.

A liturgy which concentrates upon external participation and ignores internal participation recalls too many gospel stories—it is the Pharisee who loudly proclaims before God, it is the publican who is saved. A liturgy that fails to help people carry abiding convictions of justice and charity into the world recalls the Lord's warning, "Take away from me the noise of your songs; To the melody of your harp I will not listen. But let justice roll down like water, and righteousness like an everflowing stream" (Amos 5:23-24).

IV

SILENCE AND reflection can easily be integrated into the liturgy without undermining the basic thrusts of the reforms. The rubrics already call for moments of silent prayer at the Opening Prayer and Prayers after Communion. These should be used and respected instead of run through. Three spaces in the Mass are of special importance and rubrically compatible with the reforms. First, the time of reflection after the homily must be respected. If ignored, as it often is, then a choir song or unaccompanied music would be appropriate as the offerings are brought up to the altar. But we must have time to reflect and "make the word our own." Second, the symbolism of the consecration should be respected. Even today, an involuntary hush descends over most congregations at that moment. There is a sense, of awe and involuntary worship similar to Thomas's "My Lord and my God." Yet the Levi Jeans school of liturgy too often swallows the moment by using a studied casualness to turn the consecration into a family meal, forgetting that it also partakes of the paschal sacrifice on the cross and evokes the real presence of God. Third, the reception of communion should be a time of silence perhaps with choir or instrumental music. The most intimate moment of a Christian's life is all too often violated by song leaders demanding participation and control. One would think the normal desultory response at that time would inform the priest and song leader that there is something else happening which ought to be respected.

The moment should be uncoerced and no congregational song or associated music should be used. These familiar sounds tap easily accessible emotional responses and control the space of reflection.

The moments of silence and reflection can be accompanied by music and choral work, but only of a certain variety. The music must invite and create vaulting arches of open space for prayer and worship; it should not control or intrude upon reflection and meditation. The musical tradition of the church abounds in music which, like the churches from which they arose, evokes splendid settings for individuals to confront their God. The moment should be uncoerced and no congregational song or associated music should be used. These familiar sounds tap easily accessible emotional responses and control the space of reflection.

The moments of silence and reflection should not be disjunct from the liturgy. They can be moved into the framework of the liturgy with the priest's explanation, or introduced with a few potential lines of reflection which emerge from the scripture and homily.

Finally, the church can resurrect some of the meditative and devotional services often shunted aside in the rush to maximal participation. With care and integrity, Benediction, Evensong, Vespers, Stations of Cross and thoughtful novenas can complement the new Mass rites.

Silent liturgical moments of reflection and awareness before God allow us to come to a greater and fuller integrity of belief, moral conviction and worship. These moments also provide appropriate opportunities for intimacy with the Lord to acknowledge our fear, shame and sorrow and through grace and mercy to partake of the process of healing and renewal of our soul. We must provide for the moment when "The Lord is in his holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before him" (Habb. 3:20).

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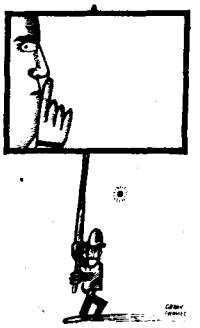

THE PARADOXICAL GRIP OF THE PAST

McCarthyism West German-style

MILTON MANKOFF

"IN AMERICA, everything that is not forbidden is allowed; in Germany, everything that is not allowed is forbidden; in Italy, everything that is forbidden is allowed; and in the Communist countries, everything that is allowed is forbidden."

This observation was made by a senior jurist to me and three foreign journalists visiting West Germany on a recent Bonn-sponsored trip to meet primarily with government leaders and examine "human rights and democracy in the Federal Republic." While offered partly as self-mockery it reflects the desire of German officials to create a democratic state without permitting unfettered political expression. Unease at American and Italian toleration of high levels of social conflict and disorder has, unfortunately, led toward policies which, some believe, threaten to edge the Federal Republic closer to a political culture where "everything that is allowed is forbidden."

In the past seven years West Germany has experienced a variant of American McCarthyism, called Berufsverbot, or job-ban, by its growing number of critics. Up to two million applicants and tenured civil servants have undergone loyalty checks designed to purge the civil service of those "antagonistic" to the Constitution. Since 1972 perhaps as many as three thousand persons, virtually all young leftists, have been denied jobs. This figure includes about three hundred already tenured civil servants. The criteria for job denial or loss are vague, and different localities have employed widely diverging standards to evaluate political loyalty. Membership in the Communist Party or other far-left political groups is the most typical litmus test, but perhaps forty percent of Berufsverbot victims are unaffiliated leftists who signed the "wrong" petition or participated in the "wrong" demonstration.

Although the number of Berufsverbot victims may appear small in a country of 60 million people, comparable instances of job loss in *our* McCarthy era probably involved less than 6,000 public service employees in a country three times as populous as the Federal Republic. More importantly, policies of repression cannot only be evaluated through body-counts. For every person whose job is threatened untold others become fearful and unwilling to exercise freedom of speech, assembly, or association.

Loyalty checks and job bans are not the only aspects of political repression in West Germany today. Terrorism has left a legacy in the creation of new statutes restricting aspects of traditional laywer-client relations and expanding police powers. In addition, laws have been created or newly enforced to permit the arrest of those who produce or disseminate literature advocating violent overthrow of the constitutional order or slandering the state. Police have raided bookstores, confiscating books and pamphlets which would hardly be noticed elsewhere.

Why should the Federal Republic, so prosperous, stable and progressive in many areas of economic and social policy, feel the need to resort to such authoritarian measures? When our hosts tried to explain themselves to us, what invariably emerged was a world view based on fear of the past and the future. Nearly every conversation involved reference to "our past." Despite low unemployment and inflation, clean and safe streets, extraordinary affluence, and extensive social welfare provisions that should shame American politicians, there seems to be a pervasive disbelief in the durability of the German "miracle." It is impossible for Germans over forty to believe that a country whose first fifty years in this century have been characterized by defeat in two wars, revolution and counterrevolution, runaway inflation and unemployment, Nazism and the division of their country into two states, can live for the next fifty in peace, prosperity and tranquillity.

The lack of faith in the future leads to overreaction to any manifestation of disorder. Any antisocial word or deed is not simply an *incident*, but an attack on The Constitution, The State, The Society. Eternal vigilance coexists with eternal fear. Only through the passage of a new law regulating a new behavior can calm be restored.

German legalism is, of course, a long-standing tradition, not something which first emerged to cope with the problems of the postwar era. There is scarcely any awareness that laws create as many problems as they resolve, nor that even perfect laws get implemented and often perverted by imperfect people. A naive belief exists that social conflicts can be legislated out of existence, that if only the Weimar Republic had

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had stronger laws against extremism Nazism would not have triumphed.

The traumas of history and the faith in legal remedies for social problems, while significant factors in accounting for authoritarian policies, must be buttressed by another element that surprised me. I have become used to foreigners maligning the "German character," seeing Nazism reviving in every German soul. I was unprepared for how deeply mistrustful of each other the Germans are as well.

One of the chief judges in the country exemplified this anxiety when he stated that "unlike the American constitution ours is based on a lack of trust in our people. They have not shown a capacity for democratic politics and we cannot allow total political liberties because of that." Yet, such learning from the past has been one-sided. Today's leaders fear that Germans will follow demagogues and wish to remove them from positions of influence. They ignore the equally vital lesson to be drawn from the record of bureaucrats under Nazism. Civil servants who are discouraged from questioning authority are more dangerous than a few demagogues. The latter are powerless without legions to implement their barbarous policies. A skeptical civil service can render dictatorship impotent, whereas obsequious bureaucrats can turn far less dangerous leaders into social menaces.

AN IRONY of the Berufsverbot policy is that its proponents invoke the horrors of Nazism to justify restrictions on political expression, but attack only leftists. In a sense the left is paying twice for the sins of the Nazis: first, during the Third Reich with their jobs and ultimately their lives; now, they are lumped together with Nazis. Rudi Dutschke's decade-old call for a "long march through the institutions" to destroy German authoritarianism is cited as comparable to the fascist subversion of Weimar institutions. That virtually every organized group on the left has denounced terrorism has not prevented the right, and many social democrats as well, from viewing socialist criticism as preparing the moral foundation for terrorists.

If graduates of the German new left are equated with Nazis and terrorists for their sharp criticism and past tendency to mount militant demonstrations against state and university authorities, the miniscule German Communist Party is perceived as a haven for East German spies and fifth columnists who join the civil service to prepare the way for revolution. One conservative member of parliament justified the removal of a tenured Communist railroad conductor of thirteen years from the civil service on the grounds that "in a revolutionary situation control over a train could prove critical."

The specter of East German spies is not purely invention, for threre appear to be a steady supply who specialize in seducing lonely secretaries of government officials. Yet a tough Berlin police official, whose job it is to catch such knaves, claimed the East Germans never recruit spies from the West German party. When Professor Uwe Wesel, a law professor at the Free University of Berlin and prominent critic of Berufsverbot was asked about local Communists' penchant for subverting the civil service he laughed and said: "Our Communists join the civil service for only one reason: to get jobs and earn a living. At work they are indistinguishable from conservatives and would never dream of not performing their expected duties. They work quietly and efficiently from 9 to 5, have dinner, and then go to their political meetings. They are asleep by 9. They are like baby lambs!"

The purge of leftists from the civil service has not been accompanied by a comparable campaign against Nazis and neo-Nazis. It was argued, with considerable merit, that leftists greatly outnumber right extremists among youth, those likely to be applying for the civil service. Moreover, prominent Nazis would rarely be under 60 years old, the normal retirement age for civil servants.

Still, even if time has largely accomplished what people would or could not, there exists an alarming insensitivity to Nazis in high places, particularly among political conservatives. A double standard is used in dealing with leftists in relation to ex-Nazis and neo-Nazis. For leftists, mere *membership* in certain organizations can jeopardize one's career; yet, being an ex-Nazi or neo-Nazi is, in itself, not sufficient to disqualify one for public service. Actual *misdeeds* are necessary to create difficulties for far rightists. A recent case in point was the parliamentary election of Karl Carstens as President. The presidency is basically a ceremonial office, but one that the majority of legislators were willing to give to a self-confessed former Nazi. Most ex-Nazi politicians claim, of course, to be confirmed democrats now, as witnessed by their strong support for purging the civil service of radicals!

THE SITUATION in West Germany, while deeply disturbing, is far from hopeless. Western European criticism, coupled with increasing disaffection from young voters, has led the Social Democratic Party to reexamine its attitude towards the Berufsverbot policy it inaugurated. In January 1979, the Social Democratic-Free Party governing coalition announced its intention to liberalize Berufsverbot practices in the federal civil service and in those states where a SPD-FDP coalition rules. Henceforth, automatic loyalty checks on all applicants need not occur. Only those candidates who are seriously considered for an opening and about whom severe reservations exist should be subject to investigation. In addition, youthful "indiscretions" will not be held against candidates. Behavior prior to age eighteen or more than three years before application to the civil service is to be ignored.

The Federal Republic has suffered much derision at home and abroad because of loyalty checks on sixteen-year-old apprentice gardeners and railroad conductors, as well as bizarre cases such as that of the army cook who was fired for remarking that East German athletes were superior to those in the West. Yet the 1979 reforms conspicuously failed to address the problems raised by these examples of abuse. There has been insufficient discussion of whether some civil service occupations require more careful scrutiny of applicants than others. When we raised the question in a meeting with four members of parliament, a Christian Democrat declared, "It

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would not be correct to classify civil service jobs into those which require loyalty to the Constitution and those that don't. This would stigmatize people who had positions which did not require loyalty. No one would know whether to trust them." Thus, to be investigated is to be considered a privilege! The new guidelines are also not helpful in developing criteria for what can be understood as a serious indication of unsuitability for the civil service. Different jurisdictions still have wide discretionary powers in determining whether organizational membership is enough for exclusion and what other kinds of data might be used in employment decisions.

The changes in the implementation of Berufsverbot brought about by the recent reforms, while clearly a step in the right direction, are but a small step. Moreover, even these changes will be limited because the Christian Democrats and the Christian Socialist Union, which control six of the eleven German states, are under no obligation, and do not intend, to introduce any modifications of current practices. The opposition's unwavering hard-line attitude on political dissent is apparently supported by a solid majority of the citizenry. In addition, not all Social Democratic politicians are sympathetic to liberalization, because of ideological conviction, a fear of being red-baited by CDU/CSU rivals, or both.

American McCarthyism showed that even a country with strong democratic traditions can at best count on but a small minority to defend dissenters in times of crisis. West Germany's democratic tradition is of recent vintage and fragile. It developed during thirty years of unusual prosperity and civil tranquillity. The student movement of the sixties and the terrorism of the seventies have provided the first major tests of the new nation's willingness to reconcile freedom of expression, a respect for social order without violence, and a continuing commitment to balance the two goals within a democratic framework. Sadly, those who make policy in the Federal Republic have responded to the disorder inherent in democracy by reaching back into the authoritarian past rather than struggling to irrevocably break with it.

Screen

ON THE TOWN

A VISUAL POEM TO NEW YORK CITY

NOT SINCE *The Naked City* has there been a film that contained such a beautiful visual poem to New York as Woody Allen's *Manhattan* does. Like Dassin's film, which was the one to pioneer location shooting in New York back in the late 1940s, Allen's current black-and-white hit opens with a montage of images which are run against a voice-over commentary. A neon sign spells out "Manhattan" on the side of a building in the dawn light. A panorama of the skyline is seen from across the park under lowering skies at dusk. A fireworks display against the same skyline explodes its showers of sparks over the city in perfect time to the closing chords of Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue."

The commentary that is read against these images isn't quite so rhapsodic, however. The voice we hear is Allen's own in his role as Isaac, the film's hero, who is trying to get started on the novel he wants to write. "Chapter One," he says, ". . . He romanticized New York all out of proportion. . . ." But again he breaks off, rebuking himself, "No, no . . . too corny . . . got to be more profound." Once more he tries, "He adored New York City. To him it was a metaphor for the decay of contemporary culture . . . no, too preachy. We wanna make some money on this book." And so it goes, the city sounding worse and worse with each new attempt despite the fact that, in the images flashed on the screen, New York looks more and more beautiful. This opening is a perfect little overture to the movie that follows. What it suggests is a film in which the images and the words are going to work in counterpoint, one where a certain visual drama will be played under a lot of funny dialogue. To keep what we see and what we hear separate so that the film can function in this way, Allen has thought out his shots carefully and made a highly stylized film. Sometimes an entire scene is done in a long shot from a fixed camera set-up, thus creating a disproportion between the way the scene looks and the way it sounds. We hear the characters as if they were right next to us, but see them as distant. It makes us feel as if our relationship with them is both intimate and estranged at the same time.

At other times, Isaac seems to take a verbal pratfall right off the screen. He moves out of camera range before he delivers the punchline toward which the scene has been working. After he chats with Mary (Diane Keaton) at a lunch counter, they both move off-camera while she asks him about his writing. From beyond the edge of the empty frame we hear him tell her as they walk away, "The first story I wrote was called 'The Castrating Zionist.' It's about my mother." A variation on this device is for lines to be delivered from the total black-out of the frame. A good deal of Isaac and Mary's relationship seems to take place in the dark. On a date they go to the Hayden Planetarium and wander around in a giant model of the solar system, drifting aimlessly against a background of intergalactic void. It's the ideal setting for their love affair.

Taking advantage of the latitude which his approach affords, Allen begins using the composition of his shots to put a little english on the emotions in his film, letting the laughter fall silent from time to time. While Isaac's best friend Yale (Michael Murphy) is having an affair with Mary, Isaac scrupulously avoids getting involved with her. But as soon as she and Yale break up, Isaac allows himself to fall in love. Then Yale calls up Mary on the sly to lure her back. During this phone conversation Allen frames the shots of Yale, Mary and Isaac so that each character appears at the extreme edge of the screen. This unbalanced framing introduces tension into the scene. It makes visible the disruptive quality of what Yale is doing. Yet in a film where we have been laughing at lines spoken off the screen altogether, we don't feel manipulated to

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see the same characters crowd back on again at the edge—clinging to the side of our perception as if to the wall of a building where they have just stepped out on a window ledge unsure of their own intentions. In a way Yale's phone call is just another of those off-camera voices in Isaac's life. Yet because of Allen's rendering of the scene, we can't help all of a sudden taking these people more seriously.

As the film goes on, Allen composes certain scenes alike in order to make them clack against each other in our minds. We feel the earlier scene resonating in the later one and enforcing its emotion. When Isaac has an afternoon out with his son by his second marriage, for instance, he stops in front of F.A.O. Schwartz's window to point out a little sailboat to the boy, who insistently starts pointing out a much larger one to him. The musical score for this silent comedy is "Lady Be Good." Then later, as Isaac happens to be walking by a bookstore at some seaside resort, where there are real sailboats in the background, a similar shot through the store window shows him doing a double-take. He has just spotted there on display a book his ex-wife (Meryl Streep) has written about their divorce. Again the musical accompaniment is "Lady Be Good."

In a sub rosa way, relationships like these between the scenes inform Isaac's relationships with the women in his life. Before Mary there's Tracy (Mariel Hemingway), a seventeen-year-old with whom Isaac is having an affair when the film opens. One of those scenes done completely in long shot is an early one where Isaac, disturbed by the difference in their ages, tries to warn Tracy not to become too attached to him. The scene is not only done in long shot, but in silhouette and a kind of semi-darkness that are mimicked a little later by the scene where Isaac and Mary first begin to fall for one another. We see Isaac and Mary sitting together on a park bench now just as we saw Isaac and Tracy on the couch in his apartment earlier. Coming together and splitting up look much the same here. There is a certain confusion in Isaac's emotions, an indecisiveness, which Allen's montage expresses. We get the feeling that his relationships with women are interchangeable, and therefore always doomed.

Woody Allen has us all at his mercy. He sees through our collective neuroses so readily that we realize none of us is safe around him. "My first wife," Isaac explains with the typical understatement which one of those long shots provides, "was a kindergarten teacher who got heavily into drugs. She went to San Francisco, was in EST for awhile, then became a Moony. Now she's with the William Morris Agency." No one could prevail against this kind of wit. There isn't anybody Allen couldn't devastate. What makes his pitiless attack on us enjoyable, though, is his willingness to aim the worst of it at himself. That's why we trust him with all our secrets. No analyst could inspire such complete confidence from us. Allen's insight into himself is what makes him funny, but also what makes him serious. He's so pathetic it's laughable—*so* pathetic, in fact, that it's pathetic.

In this film Allen's way of keeping his sense of humor about himself, his perspective on his life, is finally provided by Tracy. This seventeen-year-old is more stable than Isaac, Mary and Yale put together. Tracy is the only one who won't play musical chairs with her emotions the way they do. "Don't be so mature," Isaac pleads with her when she's reluctant to take him back after he's hurt her, and even he has to smile, weakly, at how puerile his own feelings are compared to hers. It's all so silly, and so genuinely poignant, too.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

FROM THE FORTHCOMING MEMOIRS OF HONUS HELLWIG

Lucky to be an Octobrist

WITH THE HELP OF STEPHEN DARST

I BROKE into organized ball with the Valdosta "Guelphs" in the old Georgia-Switzerland League in Nineteen-aught-three. My contract called for four million dollars to be spread over three generations, a Swiss bank account, a $400,000 no-interest loan and the bottled beer franchise for North Africa. Which don't sound like a whole lot today but it was more money than I'd ever seen before, except when I spent summers with my grandmother, Mrs. Hugh D. Auchincloss at Hammersmith Farms.

I was nine years old when Mister Rickey offered me that contract with the Cardinals. I'll never forget in our kitchen at the farm Mister Rickey sitting at the table talking to my old man. My old man didn't talk English too good and he thought Mister Rickey was the Crown Prince Rudolph trying to conscript me into the Austro-Hungarian Army and he liked to shot old Mister Rickey before *that* rhubarb was straightened out. My ma was in the corner bent over the Cuisinart fixing up a batch of sauce Bearnaise which next to grits and collard greens was my favorite eating. Still is.

As soon as my old man put his John Hancock on that piece of paper I lit out for St. Louis, running all the way. That's

STEPHEN DARST *has written for the* New York Times, Harper's *and other journals.*

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the way I was then—fast as hell and could run all day. Clyde Sukeforth caught up to me about Fort Wayne and gave me the stop sign but I couldn't put on the brakes until I slid into Indianapolis, safe. Suke told me Mister Rickey had assigned my contract to Valdosta and I reported to the "Guelphs" the very next morning.

"Mister Mack," I said, "I'm Honus Hellwig."

"You're Honus Hellwig?" he said.

"That's right," I said.

"Well, let me tell you something, Hellwig," he said. "We're going to get along a whole lot better when you stop calling me Mister Mack."

That's how I met the immortal Roger Peckinpaugh. Peck and me always got along swell after that only he always called me Oscar Mellilo. Just a way he had. But he always treated me square.

"Oscar," he told me that first day, "you're my money pitcher and you're going to be my money pitcher until you show me you ain't my money pitcher. Another thing. We got a rule here carries an automatic fine if you break it. And that rule is that a thing cannot be and not be at the same time and in the same respect. Not on this ball club. Not while Roger Peckinpaugh's running things. And that goes for veterans, same as rookies."

Say what a sweet team that was. Bob Fothergill, Urban Shocker, Eppa Rixey, Bobo (Buck) Newsom, Dolph Luque, the Borgia Boys, Big Poison and Little Poison, Heine Meine, Milo Candini, Buck (Bobo) Newsom and "Kiki" Cuyler. Once for a joke Bobo (Buck) Newsom nailed my shoes to the caboose of the Georgia Pacific train. And me still in them! I was one sorry southpaw by the time that train pulled into Atlanta. Funny thing was it helped my pitching, losing them four fingers when the train passed over my left hand. Next time I was warming up, Ernie ("Big Ernie") Lombardi noticed the ball was "doing" things. We was always trying to get the ball to "do" things, scuffing it up and putting things on it to make it curve. Buck (Bobo) Newsom would try anything to "doctor" the ball. Once he tried to sneak a dozen horsehides into a private audience with Pope Leo XIII. The Swiss Guards seen

what he was up to and sent Buck to the showers early that day.

"Let's show it to Mister Peckinpaugh," says "Big Ernie."

Mister Peckinpaugh thought it might be possessed of the devil but an exorcist said it wasn't a clear case of possession and there was no theological reason I couldn't use it in a game. But before I got a chance I was notified Philadelphia had drafted me. In those days, though, you could pay a substitute to go to Philadelphia for you and I paid $100 to Al "Streetcars" Woberly to take my place. Al was called "Streetcars" because he liked to ride the "streetcars" between games of a doubleheader and get drunk with the stewardesses. He liked his fun on the mound too. I recall one day he motioned the whole outfield in, sent 'em all to the South of France for the month, and struck out the side. I wouldn't say "Streetcars" was crazy but he was eccentric. He had a no-hitter going one day and it was considered bad luck to mention it. So no one said a word. I had a pet bird, a parrot, though, and along about the fifth inning my bird was getting on "Streetcars" real good about the no-hitter. Well, "Streetcars" got hot. He put my bird in the dugout water cooler, told my bird maybe that'd cool him off. I was in the bullpen and didn't get back to the dugout till the next inning, and, of course, by that time my bird had drowned. Not that it made a whole hell of a lot of difference. "Streetcars" got tagged for a double, bottom of the ninth.

AFTER "STREETCARS" went to Philly Mister Rickey heard Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis might declare me a free agent. To "protect" me he traded me and "Fulton's Folly" to the Czar Nicholas I for Lou "The Mad Russian" Novakov and two dancing bears to be named later. Turned out the Czar thought he was getting "Seward's Folly," which he had traded out of his organization previously. He found that trade created a hole and he wanted it back but a deal's a deal and the was stuck with "Fulton's Folly."

I joined the St. Petersburg "Octobrists" on a Sunday morning in time to suit up for a foiled coup. We was all sent to Vladivostok for one hundred and forty years. I played in the Vladivostok outlaw league until Judge Landis smoked me out and give me my outright release along with 300,000 serfs.

In Vladivostok I got pretty close to the team trainer, "Doc" Rasputin. "Doc" Rasputin could heal anything, slide burns, a sore soup-bone, hemophilia. He showed me a new way to throw the hard slider, fingers across the old horsehide seams while staring at the batter with burning, hypnotic eyes, all the while scraping the ball against an ikon containing the toenail of St. Basil. When I was released from Vladivostok I hotfooted it back to Brooklyn which had picked up my contract. Leo started me in the first game of a double-header against the Cubs. "Jolly Cholly" Grimm came out every inning yelling at "Beans" Reardon, the umpire, to examine the ball to see if I was doctoring it. I shut out the Cubbies on three bingles and "Beans" must have stopped play a dozen times looking at that ball, but he never did figure how I was loading it up. You want to know how I did it? Easy. You remember that group of "pilgrims" who

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came out to the mound a couple of times during the game? What "Beans" didn't know was that the "monk" leading those Doukhobor "pilgrims" was old Bobo (Buck) Newsom himself, and Bobo slips me the ikon while the "pilgrims" are taking off their clothes and burning them in a pile on the mound. "Beans" was a religious man, didn't want to interfere in a religious procession, and he let me get away with it once. The second time those "pilgrims" start out for the mound, though, "Jolly Cholly" is out there right after them. And "Beans" not far behind.

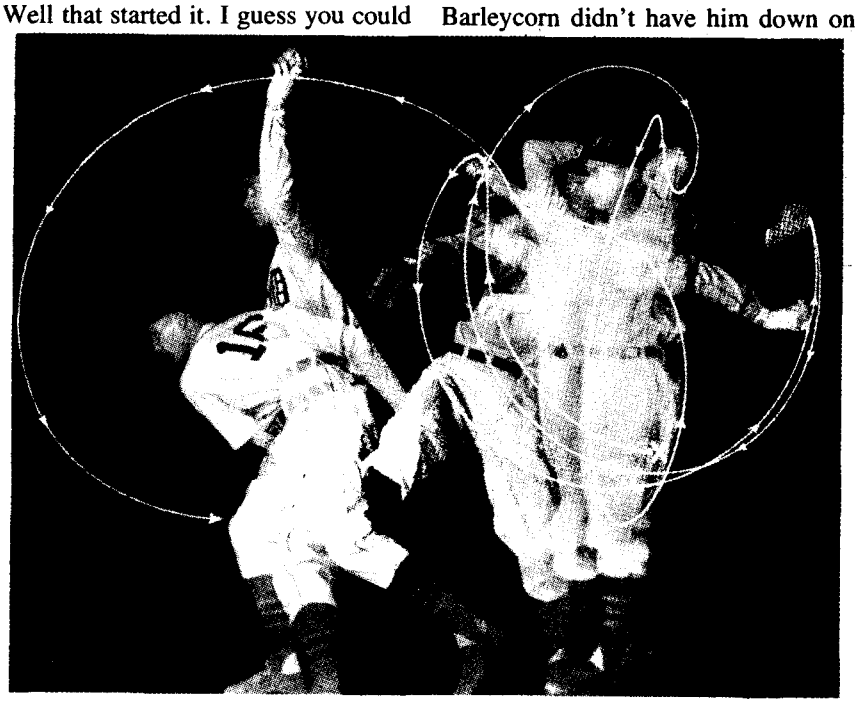
"That's it," "Beans" says to the "pilgrims." "You're gone. This is a ball park, not a holy place. Pick up those burning rags and head for the showers."

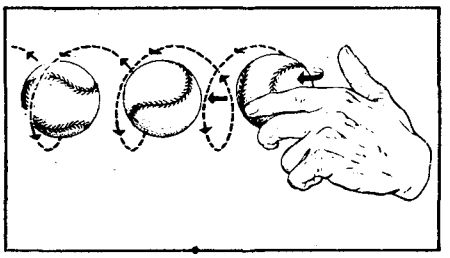
But I already had what I needed. Bobo had me kneel down on the pitching rubber for his final "blessing" and while he's giving me the "blessing" he's rubbing the old horsehide against the ikon with the toenail of St. Basil.

In the second game of that doubleheader "Dizzy" Butterworth started that great streak of consecutive wins that led to the pennant. The day he started the streak "Dizzy" lunched at the Astor on tripes a la mode de Caen and a bottle of Chateau Lafitte Rothschild 1918. After that he felt good and sent a telegram to President Harding and went out to Ebbets Field and shut out the Cubs on four hits.

Well that started it. I guess you could say "Dizzy" was superstitious cause three days later he was back at the Astor eating those tripes and drinking that wine and writing that telegram to Harding. I don't need to tell you fans what happened next. Another shutout, a two hitter. It keeps going like that. Tripes a la mode de Caen, Rothschild 1918, wire to Harding. Tripes, Rothschild, Harding. One, two, three. Once in Boston it was and they couldn't find a bottle of Rothschild and Leo said, hell, give "Dizzy" some St. Emilion and let's play ball. But "Dizzy" refused to leave Locke-Ober's until they dug up a bottle of Rothschild. He killed the bottle in the cab on the way to the park, sent Harding a nightletter and shut out the Braves. During that immortal skein "Dizzy" had nine shut-outs, five one-hitters, one two-hitter, eighteen pounds of honeycomb tripe, two cases of Rothschild 1918 and telegraph bills amounting to $1,487.19.

In the off-season the Dunbarton Oaks Conference ruled the spitball illegal in all lands formerly belonging to the Mahatma and what with the Revolution I was having trouble getting ikons out of Russia. I tried soaking the ball in absinthe I got from Tristan "Fat Tristan" Tzara. "Fat Tristan" was a Dadaist, sure, but what a lot of folks forget is that he was also a third-baseman and a darn good one when a combination of Vorticism and old John Barleycorn didn't have him down on a





two-and-o count. The absinthe worked good but the men in blue caught on when batters started going blind on outside pitches.

My high hard one was gone by then and I was trying anything to hang on. I was doctoring that ball with whale blubber, enzymes, the new so-called miracle drugs, hollandaise, tranquilizers, acupuncture needles, naval jelly, Spanish fly, Johnson's baby oil, laser beams, penicillin cultures, tabasco, a micro-wave oven, liquid wrench, miracle whip salad dressing, silicones and Dijon mustard. One day in Pittsburgh I'm nursing a one-run lead, bottom of the ninth, no out, bases full of Buccos, and I'm working real slow hoping that a shipment of Iranian caviar on the thumb with just a *soupçon* of basil can make that ball dipsy-do and left-overs can be heated the next day and served with a fish course. "Big Ernie," hearing a motorcycle delivery man pull up outside the stadium, called time and come out to the mound to waste a minute.

"What do you figure Eliot meant by calling the Mississippi River a great brown god?" "Big Ernie" asked me.

I said d—mned if I knew.

"Big Ernie" called to "Fat Tristan, the third-sacker.

"Fat Tristan," "Big Ernie" yells so the whole stadium can hear, "what do you make of the use of the horse as a symbol in the later Yeats?"

Well that does it. "Beans" is out on that mound right now. I'm signing the bill of lading for the caviar but it's too late.

"Honus, your string's run out," "Beans" said, "I want you to collect your bottles of grease and salad oil andacupuncture needles and that drug cabinet and the absinthe. You're gone. And if Eliot and Yeats don't watch themselves, they're gone too."

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Books: A WHOPPING GOOD MOVIE

THE VICAR OF CHRIST
Walter F. Murphy
Macmillan, $12.95, 632 pp.

John Deedy

THE IDEA isn't novel. The Baron Corvo, Frederick Rolfe, went outside the conclave for a fictionalized occupant for the Chair of Peter back in 1904. Walter F. Murphy does it in 1979, in near-epic length, though not in grander literary manner than Corvo. Corvo's pope was Hadrian VII; Murphy's is Francesco I, a name new of course to the papacy and chosen to signify a blending of the simplicity of Francis of Assisi and the zeal of Francis Xavier. It's a name taken by Declan Walsh, American, war hero, former law dean, former special envoy to the Vatican, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States—a man of giant background, obviously, for the meeting of a giant challenge: the return of Christ's Church to Christ's Spirit. The man measures, and the world wonders what has been loosed, the Holy Spirit or the wrath of God.

What in fact has been loosed is the armchair pope in Walter Murphy, McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence at Princeton. There are, it seems, as many armchair popes as there are armchair generals, and Murphy indulges his with neither blush nor restraint. His is the liberal's kind of pope for a better Church. He holds presidential-style press conferences, speaks his mind about Pius XII, rejects *Humanae Vitae*, looks benignly on remarriage after divorce, is skeptical about the celibacy laws, embraces pacificism, espouses modern socialism, and raises emergency funds for disasters around the world by auctioning off Vatican art treasures.

Meanwhile, he launches a worldwide crusade of spiritual renewal, engages in shuttle diplomacy à la Henry Kissinger, barges in on heads of state to talk cold turkey, and appears before the United Nations, with a side trip to the stadium in the Jersey meadowlands for a Mass for the faithful. (If some of this sounds as if it has been borrowed from real life, it has.) Finally Francesco threatens to abolish the Curia and go off to live, simply and in poverty, in Jerusalem. "That move," says he, "will symbolize our return to the spiritual values of the Gospels and our renunciation of the material values that both ancient and modern Rome signify." Oh, I almost forgot: our man is also a miracle worker—real miracles, like the blind seeing, the crippled walking and a teenager getting over acne without the help of a miracle salve.

Well, you can guess what happens to such a fine pope as this. Like Corvo's Hadrian, Francesco is shot, though who hires the hit man, a black from New Jersey, remains a mystery. It could have been the CIA; Francesco's questioning of the compatibility of military service with Christianity had seriously upset Washington. Or was it the Soviet KGB, the British M16, the PLO, the IRA? Or was it the revenge of Brazil's military junta? Or the Egyptians or the Spaniards? "They all had reasons."

No, there could be no dying peacefully in bed for Murphy's pope. His doctrine was subversive of everyone's ways, or near everyone's, in the West, the East, the Third World. Sooner or later, someone was going to act to save the world from vision and goodness. Actually, it's a merciful killing; the book had long since gotten long and weak on credibility.

It had to, for Murphy's book is not one but three. It's a war novel about a World War II veteran who's reactivated for Korea and goes on to win the Congressional Medal of Honor. It's a Washington novel about a law-school dean who gets appointed to the Supreme Court as Chief Justice and presides over Bakke-like cases of affirmative action and of capital punishment. (Abortion comes before the Court for its legal resolution and our man dissents from the majority view; secular liberals forgive him his departure from their expectations as they understand what Catholicism has "forced" upon him—besides they have won, and generosity is always easy in victory.) And, at last, it is a Vatican novel, just as the ads say.

While he is Chief Justice, Declan Walsh experiences tragedy. His wife dies in an automobile accident; driving while intoxicated. In a spasm of remorse, Walsh retires to a Trappist abbey in South Carolina, convinced that he has driven his wife to booze and death by neglect and his dalliance with a female administrative assistant. It is in the monastery that he is found, in vows but not in orders, by a conclave deadlocked trying to elect a successor to the pope who lately died in a mid-air plane collision while en route to a session of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. Roll reel three: the papacy of Francesco I.

Though the book takes its title from this section, it is neither the best nor most interesting third of Murphy's trilogy. Or is it that I am allergic to seemingly endless detail on how a conclave operates, how the Curia functions, etc.? In any case, the book descends in drama and interest, when in point of fact it should be building the other way. I must say, though, that I liked the narrator for the papacy section—a gourmand cardinal with a palate as wondrous as the tale he is employed to tell.

For the first part of the book, Murphy uses a retired Marine gunnery sergeant as narrator, and for the second, a suave former colleague of the hero's on the Supreme Court. The result is three distinctly different modes that show off marvelously the stylistic agility of the author and his mastery with the language. He also has an easy wit. Satire, however, suffers from use of the blatant stereotype, like the priest from *L'Osservatore Romano* who is called upon to ask the first question at the first papal press conference:

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"Would, aah, would, that is, is Your Holiness planning, like your predecessors of sainted memory, to nourish the souls of the faithful of the Church by offering new indulgences?"

A question like that was impossible after 1962, if not even before—or so I prefer to believe. Certainly it is impossible three people removed from Paul VI, the time-setting for Murphy's novel.

But this is to carp. Murphy has written a good book, the more so its being a first novel. The book is going to be a huge success, and it will make a whopping big movie. Still it is a novel that is lesser than Corvo's and more like Henry Morton Robinson's *The Cardinal*. No one reads *The Cardinal* nowadays, but you do catch the film version every so often on late night television. That may be the future too of Murphy's *Vicar*.

No exaggeration, no minimization

THE LAST HALF-CENTURY
SOCIETAL CHANGE AND POLITICS IN AMERICA

Morris Janowitz
University of Chicago, $25, 583 pp.

Irving Louis Horowitz

WRITING ABOUT America is a veritable Rorschach test. What one chooses to write about says much about an author. Selecting the big theme indicates expectations no less than intelligence. In the 1950s a strong celebrationist mood led commentators like Henry Commager and Max Lerner, among others, to speak of American culture and American civilization as high-water marks in the history of humanity. A sense of impending doom and catastrophe hardly surfaced. In the 1960s and 1970s, after the war in Southeast Asia, racial strife internally, and colossal changes in American popular manners and mores, the mood turned dour and sour. Suddenly books with pessimistic titles *(The Dying of the Light*, and *The Twilight of Capitalism)* began to appear, heralding the impending doom of American society. The more serious writings in this decade have tended to avoid extremes of optimism or pessimism in favor of what might be called an accounting ledger imagery of society. Survival becomes a cost-benefit equation: How much gross national product for how much social tranquility? What valves have to be turned on and off in the political process to create a viable sense of order? Social science writing became equivocal: neither a forecast of eternal progress nor total collapse seemed entirely credible.

This book is a serious effort to perform a middle range social audit of the United States. It neither exaggerates nor minimizes the complexities of the situation. The need for order is seen as consonant with the prospects for democratic community. Unlike most mainline sociological efforts, the book unabashedly discusses the significant issues.

This is a book about American society, but it is also a book by a prominent American sociologist. One reason for that prominence is his willingness and capacity to confront social systems as a whole and not just in parts. The field of sociology is in a state of crisis: orientations are fragmented without scientific rationale, and declining academic enrollments translate into fewer opportunities for teachers and researchers. While the public sector has taken up some of the slack, sociology is a discipline in trouble by whatever indicators one selects: figures in graduate departments, new faculty appointments, books published, numbers of dissertations in progress, grants approved, etc. Janowitz's book is therefore a welcome event, if only as a reassertion of the sociological claim to provide a special vision of American society as a whole.

Much of the book is taken up with creating an American vertical mosaic: political participation, social stratification, the link between participation and stratification ("a social control point of view"), military participation, or the concept of the citizen soldier. Other areas in this mosaic are bureaucratic institutions, resident communities, mass media and mass persuasion, law and legitimate coercion, and finally, the social consequences of social science analysis. While putting forth the most noble aspects of the discipline—as a paragon of reason and common sense in a world where there has been an eclipse of both—Janowitz spends much more time distinguishing between fact and value than with the actual policy implications of social science in American context.

The Last Half-Century outlines some extremely important trends within American society and does so without the exaggerations common in popular literature, and in some current sociology as well. Janowitz makes it quite clear that political participation in the United States has remained stable and has become even more important in some cases. What has diminished is party loyalty. In a nutshell, what is under question is the moral context of party identification, not the legitimacy of the American system.

The section on social stratification is carefully done; but the study of interest-group politics, which is the key to the expansion of welfare expenditures and reallocation of resources, does not quite address the extent to which interest groups confront political parties. While regional, occupational, racial, and religious differences have declined, the sense of a country tearing apart has actually grown. Why this should be is not explained.

Janowitz tends to feel that the gap between economic facts and political sentiment partially results from the militarization of American society and the bureaucratization of its political system. This is summarized in a richly textured and carefully reasoned discussion of the transformation of authority from ownership to management, and from top-down leadership to middle-range interaction. Janowitz believes the bureaucratic system of industrial relations in the United States emphasizes short-term issues and conforms to a mold of adversarial relations without corresponding norms or institutional arrangements on

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which to base social control and the ordering of an advanced industrial society.

The themes of the book are however restated rather than resolved. The social control approach reveals its ideological disposition. The seamier side of the country is often discussed in a hygienic way. His first master trend: "There is no evidence for the depolarization of the American citizenry," is not only debatable, but concludes with the notion of chronic political stalemate. As a result, Janowitz leaves us unsure whether the system's legitimacy has remained intact or simply results from carefully weighted opponents, while the rest of the society lives in limbo between the interstices of this permanent stalemate.

The second master tendency outlined is the move toward a more complex and differentiated social stratification including a clearer division of labor as well as ascriptive continuities based on age, sex, region, and primordial attachments. His third master tendency is most dubious: namely, the rise of a deterrence posture requiring a volunteer armed force, increased hardware capabilities, and away from military service based on land war and conscription. Given the current breakdown of the voluntary army notion, and increasing demands for the reinstitution of a draft, this master trend seems to be part of a passing tactic in military history, and not at all a major tendency forging a new American society. The author's own involvement in a policy framework based on hardware and voluntarism, may be a well-intentioned effort to civilianize the military, but remains problematic as a master trend of our times.

Even from a social order perspective, his master trends might have been structured more dynamically. The sharp incline of interest and pressure groups is a cause and not simply parallel to decline in party identification; the sharp increase in hardware is a function of ideological isolationism rather than a firm deterrence posture; decline of manpower commitments is a function of isolationist tendencies following Vietnam. Other tendencies deserve mention, which go considerably beyond the social order model. For example, the decline of *American* capitalism and the rise of *European* and *Third World* capitalism; the incline of litigation as a basis of decision making based on norms, customs, and morals, i.e., external power rather than internalized authority.

Still, this is a major sociological contribution toward the understanding of American society in the late 1970s. It is seriously reasoned, carefully textured, and tightly argued. If it does not provide the sort of rank order of priorities or causal explanations one would have hoped for, it at least poses issues in a profound way and in a style amenable to an audience of concerned citizens no less than an elite group of political sociologists. This book is destined to be-

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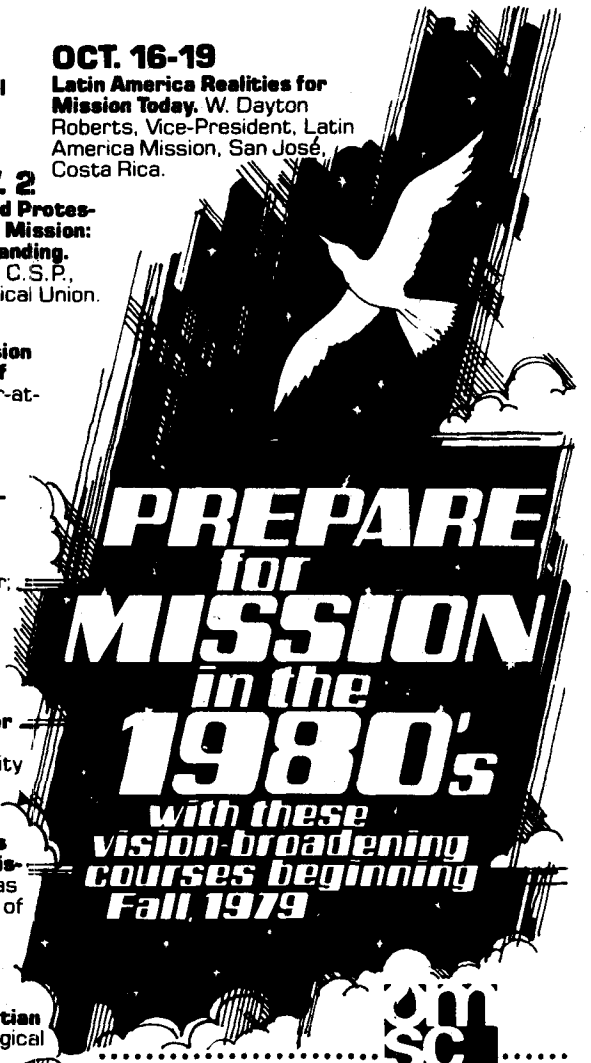

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come part of the ongoing discussion about the future of American society. If Americans march into the twilight zone it will not be quietly or silently, but with the help of works such as this, carefully, and even reluctantly.

On the road

IMAGE AND PILGRIMAGE IN CHRISTIAN CULTURE
Victor and Edith Turner
Columbia University Press, $15, 281 pp.

Joseph H. Fichter

THIS is an anthropological study of religious Christian peregrinology which intends to lay focus on abstract culture rather than on concrete behavior. Culture in this sense disembodies the "ideas, norms, values symbols and other constructs" which are expressed in actual pilgrim behavior.

The introductory chapter describes the evolution of ancient pilgrimage from a relatively simple, informal procedure which was outside the patrimonial feudal structure. As it grew larger and more frequent it came under ecclesiastical control; the symbols and ceremonials became more elaborate and more regulated. Going on pilgrimage then shifted from a voluntary individual "good work" to an institutionalized collective ritual. Routine supplanted spontaneity.

The anthropologist then is researching the total "pilgrimage system" which is perceived as a kind of organism-environment field. It embraces the "entire complex of behavior focused on the sacred shrine." Thus, the "organism" comprises all the sacred aspects of the pilgrimage, while the "environment" is the network of secular mechanisms or patterns within which it takes place.

The pilgrim himself may be seen as "half a tourist" because even the secular tourist seeks a "mode of communitas" that is not available in the structured routine of his daily life. The authors make much of communitas, which is a kind of spontaneous bond of "togetherness" that occurs among people on pilgrimage. Communitas liberates people "from conformity to general norms." It is not structured, nor is it a continuing condition of human collectivities which, after all, have to "operate in an orderly fashion." It appears to be a temporary sense of belonging to the pilgrim group, a type of collective enthusiasm underlying Durkheimian solidarity.

Four categories of pilgrimages are identified, the first of which is termed *prototypical*. These attract people to the central locations of established religions: Rome, Jerusalem, Mecca, Benares, Kandy, but very little is said about them in this book. The second kind is called the *archaic* pilgrimage which is ambiguous, ancient and syncretic. Chapter three and Appendix B are devoted to St. Patrick's Purgatory in County Donegal, the shrine of an archaic pilgrimage in Lough Derg which is thought to have been a sacred spot even before the advent of Christianity.

Chapter five deals with the third type, the *medieval* pilgrimage, originating between 400 and 1500 A.D. Walsingham in England, Loreto in Italy, Compostela in Spain, Chartres in France, all of them honoring Mary, flourished in the high middle ages. They began as local devotions, increased in popularity, and eventually attracted an international audience. After frequent ecclesiastical investigation, they were generally considered theologically orthodox.

The fourth type is the *modern*, or post-tridentine, pilgrimage which is exclusively Marian and continues to attract devout contemporary Catholics. Chapter two, the longest in the book, centers on the Mexican shrines, with most attention to Our Lady of Guadalupe. The authors describe also in some detail the Mexican devotion to a rival virgin, Our Lady of the Remedies. Despite differences in origin and history, both shrines are symbols of communitas for Mexicans—but only for Catholics. Members of other religions would be accepted only as tourists, or outsiders, but not as pilgrims.

In the further discussion of modern Marian pilgrimages in chapter four, the Turners explain their "theory of images." These are simply religious paintings, icons, mosaics and statues, which are to be taken as conventional signs, or symbolic vehicles. The symbol involves both a signifier and a signified, and in the case of religious images, it has also several levels of meaning: exegetical, operational and positional. The Marian shrines also provide examples of the contrast between the iconophobia of people who want to destroy the holy images, and the iconophilia of pious persons who want to protect them.

The whole of chapter six continues the description of modern, or "post-industrial," Marian pilgrimages, discussing the apparitions, miracles and messages of Lourdes, Fatima and La Salette. The 19th century has been called by Catholics the "Age of Mary," and the authors point out that between 1830 and 1933 Our Lady appeared at five places in France, two in Belgium, one in Ireland and one in Portugal. They do not omit the legends and fables connected with the shrines, but they are careful to give the historical and theological explanations for the justification of Marian devotions.

These chapters emerged from a set of

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lectures, probably delivered among critical academicians, and this may account for the unwieldly prose in which the book is written. Appendix A may prove helpful for an understanding of the abstract and often eccentric terminology. The notes on "processual symbolic analysis" provide definitions of such terms, and also references to previously published anthropological studies in which Turner has used such words. The book will probably be of greatest interest to social science theorists who study religious phenomena.

The undergraduate as H.L. Mencken

PUBLIC NUISANCES

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

Basic Books, $11.95, 248 pp.

Robert K. Landers

THIS IS A SILLY, repellent little book. Its author, who appears on the dust jacket the very image of a pretentious undergraduate solemnly at work on some extravagant thesis, evidently has tried to turn himself into a combination of H. L. Mencken, Malcolm Muggeridge and Westbrook Pegler; at least, he employs the odd argot and anachronistic stance of the first, apes the elegant lampoons and relentless world-weariness of the second, and aims to be as nastily abusive as the third. But the multiple transplants fail; Tyrrell succeeds merely in making himself that which he ardently imagines nearly everyone else he writes about to be: ridiculous.

The Wonderboy (to apply, more appropriately, to Tyrrell the appellation he applies to President Carter) gives us to understand that liberalism has let him down. "Somehow American liberalism had metamorphosed in the most astonishing way," he reports. "The public philosophy that had informed us with its discriminating intelligence and elevated values underwent a juvenescence. The capacity to discriminate was lost; the values grew from hideous to childish; the thing became a hollow sham. America was afflicted with not one Bryan but with multitudes. What is more, they specialized. Some called themselves environmentalists, some feminists, some consumerists. Still others specialized in education, business, national defense, race relations, and so forth. . . . What was worse, these quacks and wowsers were prospering not in the boondocks but in the universities and wherever the university was influential. Bryan advancing on the dirty-necked of backwoods Tennessee had no easier time of it than Ralph Nader or Betty Friedan advancing on Berkeley or Scarsdale." Whether it is liberalism itself or merely its deformation which the Wonderboy has come to deplore, he does not entirely make clear; but if he is a liberal, the Wonderboy is the sort of liberal who has come to be known as a neo-conservative and, as such, not a very persuasive advertisement for the breed. ". . . I believe," the Wonderboy intones, "that for the most part American democracy is far sounder than recent critics have allowed. After all, it has responded admirably to many legitimate criticisms raised against it [*raised by whom, the Wonderboy significantly does not remark*]. It has alleviated racial prejudices, aided the poor, and encouraged some tolerance for diversity. It has maintained a modicum of freedom and decency. What it has failed to do [*and here the Wonderboy exhibits a little of his own vast appreciation for diversity, freedom and decency*] is to deal prudently with the violent and idiotic pests who, if they had their way, would undo all this good."

And just who are these pests, these public nuisances, whom the Wonderboy would sweep into a capacious dustbin so that all might be well again with our pristine American democracy? Well, John Kenneth Galbraith and Theodore White, for an incredible two; but the Wonderboy's Enemies List is long. Among the other fearsome pests plaguing our society is the greening-of-America prophet of yesteryear, Charles Reich; still, one might ask, if Reich is so bothersome a nuisance, how explain the almost universal inattention to his most recent tome? Easy, answers the Wonderboy: Reich was "blacklisted because the very boldness and breadth of his last book were simply too much for the left-wing culturati." Heads the Wonderboy wins, tails the left-wing culturati lose. A convenient formula; doubtless it will come in handy to explain the almost certain blacklisting of the Wonderboy himself. In fact, moving from cage to cage in the Wonderboy's zoo, it eventually dawns on one how often the hideous pest within turns out finally to resemble not so much the figure whose name it bears as the zookeeper himself.

It makes little sense to try to argue why this or that worthy should not be behind the Wonderboy's bars. Galbraith, say; Is he really, as the Wonderboy maintains, "a typically American hayseed mountebank retooled for a modern audience"? I think not; especially as the Wonderboy's principal assertion that Galbraith is taken seriously by no serious economist is a demonstrable untruth. But enough! As Johnson wrote of the plot of Cymbeline, criticism is wasted upon resisting imbecility. Anyone who can write, as Tyrrell does, of the infamous Huston Plan hatched in the Nixon years that "Arguably it was an imprudent scheme . . ." does not deserve to be thought so profound a student of American democracy as to make worthy of sustained scrutiny his incessant, mean-spirited rant. Public nuisances, indeed.

REVIEWERS

JOHN DEEDY, *formerly Managing Editor of* Commonweal, *is the author of* Seven American Catholics *and* Literary Places: A Guided Pilgrimage, New York and New England *(Andrews & McMeel).*

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Blind alley

RIVERS OF DARKNESS

Ronald Hardy

G.P. Putnam's Sons, $10.95, 393 pp.

Phillip Corwin

THIS IS AN AMBITIOUS, panoramic and exciting novel that begs to become a Hollywood spectacular. Set in Mozambique during the final years of Portuguese colonial rule, it is about struggle and quest on many different levels.

Most obviously it is about the struggle of a WHO medical team to conquer a dreaded jungle disease, onchocerciasis—oncho, for short—which brings blindness to thousands of Africans every year, and is carried by the black fly. And it is a quest for the breeding place of the black fly, believed to be somewhere in an uncharted river bed. Hence: *Rivers of Darkness*.

It is also about the struggle of an African country to become free from colonial rule, another kind of darkness, about the terrors perpetrated by the Portuguese secret police, the colonial army, and guerrilla bands, and about the quest of a brutalized people for definition and political identity.

And finally Ronald Hardy's novel is about the struggle that individual people have with their ideals, values and goals, an intrapersonal confrontation which daringly navigates interior rivers, and is always looking for a passage out of the jungle of perverse desires into the light of day.

Leading the WHO team is Harry Lynd, a kind of medical missionary, a dedicated scientist, drawn both into politics and love against his will. Then there is, almost inevitably, a beautiful blond French opthalmic surgeon, Sidonie Marchienne, whose approach to people, including lovers, is virtually clinical. Another member of the WHO mission is Sister Annie Yeomans, a former nun, who has been driven in as well as out of a nunnery by Harry Lynd.

Among the guerrilla warriors is the leader, Santarem, himself fighting blindness; Sekou, another leader, barbarous but beguiling; and John Osirio, a great athlete who forsakes commercial success to avenge his brother's murder. Tying the various plot strands and diverse characters together is Luke Magellan, an Englishman who is heir to a port wine fortune in Portugal and Mozambique. Though normally arrogant and selfish, Luke becomes obsessively involved in a quest for justice, searching for the Portuguese soldier who mutilated a local African girl but was never punished. In the process, Luke becomes an enemy of the State, and a struggler for survival.

As well-constructed and as well-told as this novel is, however, it lacks certain dimensions which might make it even more outstanding. In addition to being humorless, it has no interplay of ideas. But what is even stranger is that of the 12 or so major characters in the novel, not a one is married or has a family. That is not to say they should, or that anyone should. Yet it seems difficult for a novel to make a social statement when it essentially ignores one of the basic units of a society, particularly of an African society. Similarly, the humanitarian concern of the WHO team and the revolutionary idealism of the guerrillas seem to be in direct contradiction with the personalities of the people in this novel who, with the exception of Sister Annie Yeomans, are unable to love.

For all its realism, there is a dimension of unreality in this novel, although that shouldn't hinder its commercial success.

Correspondence

(Continued from page 418)

rock. Emerson, Lake, and Palmer are to classical music what Steve Allen's "Meeting of Minds" is to social philosophy. They are for people who cannot handle the real thing.

It is the overall tone of the article that I find most objectionable, substituting an affected, flippant cynicism for any real attempt to separate the valuable in current music from the valueless. For all its excesses, contemporary pop music, including disco and punk rock, deserves more intelligent consideration than Mr. O'Sullivan is willing to give it. As to his question concerning the Jonestown debacle, "Who wants to hear . . .?", a great many people are interested, including currently, a Congressional committee.

TIMOTHY PETERS

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